

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
The Lives and Reigns  
OF  
The Five JAMES's,  
Kings of *Scotland*,

From the Year 1423, to the Year 1542.

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With a New Introduction.

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EDINBURGH:  
Printed by *James Watson*, in *Craig's-Clofs*, 1711.



HISTORY

THE



The Times and Regions

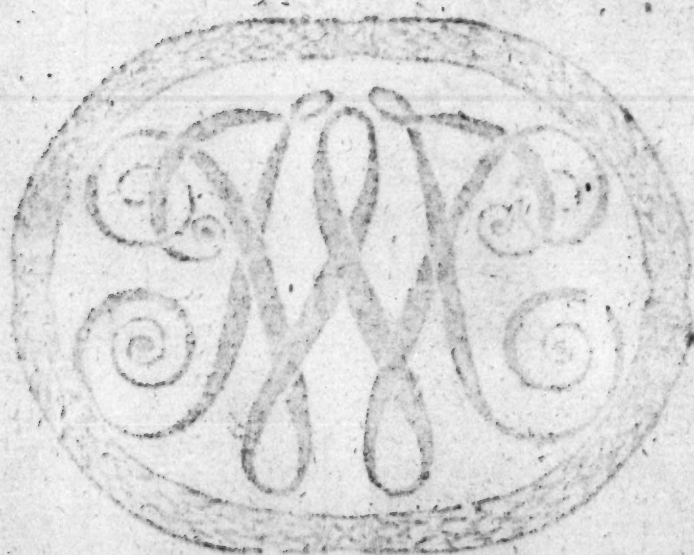
OF

The Five JAMES

Kings of Scotland

From the Year 1403 to the Year 1542

With a New Introduction



EDINBURGH:

Printed by James Watson, in George-Close, 1711.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE

Reign of *JAMES* the First,  
KING of *SCOTLAND*.

**T**HE Nobles of *Scotland* being wearied with the Form of their present Government; (for though they had a *King*, they enjoyed not the Happiness of his Sway, by his Restraint afar off, under the Power of a Stranger) some of them were possessed with Hopes, by the Change of the *Head*, to find a Change in the *Body* of the State, and a Flow of their ebbing Fortunes; the *Church-men* and the *Gentry* having ever continued Loyal and Well-affected to the Lawful Heir of the Crown; the *Commons*, Men delighting in Novations, and ordinarily preferring Uncertainties, and Things unseen and to come, to what for the Time they did hold and enjoy; the Governour of the Kingdom also himself, irritated by the Misdemeanour of his Children, and forecasting the Danger he might be plunged into, if the States should purchase the Recovery of their King, he not complying with their Design: All unanimously and together determine, without longer Prolongings, to work the Delivery of their Native Prince, *JAMES*, forth of *England*, where he had been detained Eighteen Years as a Prisoner.

They who were chosen and got Commission to negotiate his Liberty were *Archbald* Earl of *Douglas*, Son to *Archibald* Duke of *Turrain*, *William Hay* Constable of the Realm, *Alexander Irwin* of *Drum* Knight, *Henry Lighton* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, *Alexander Cornwall* Arch-Dean of *Lothian*.

These coming to *London*, were graciously received by the State, and severally entertained by King *James*, and so many Friends as either his Alliance or Virtues had acquired. After some few Days Stay, desiring to have Audience in Council, they were admitted; where Bishop *Lighton* is said to have spoken to this effect.

“ The Respect and Reverence which the Nation of the *Scots* carrieth towards all Kings, is every where known; but chiefly that Love and Loyalty which they have to the Sacred Persons of their own native Princes: For, as Monarchy is the most Ancient Form of Government, so have they ever esteemed it the Best, it being more easy to find one instructed and trained up in heroicall Virtues, than to find many. And how well soever Governours and Vice-Gerents Rule the Commonwealth; yet is that Government but as the Light of the Moon or Stars in absence of the Sun, and but Representations of Shadows for real Bodies. This hath moved the Three Estates of that Kingdom to direct us here unto you.

“ Our King these many Years hath been kept from us, upon just or unjust Grounds we will not argue. That Providence, which hath appointed every Thing to its own End, hath done this for the best, both to you and us: And we are now to Treat with you for his Delivery: Beseeching you to remember, that his Father, of Sacred Memory, recommended him, out of that general Duty which one Prince oweth to another, to your King's Protection, in hope of Sanctuary, and in request of Aid and Comfort against secret, and therefore the more dangerous, Enemies. And to confess the Truth, hitherto he hath been more assured amongst you, than if he had remained in his own Country, your Favours being many ways extended towards him; having in all liberal Sciences and Virtues brought him up: That his Abode with you seemeth rather to have been a remaining in an Academy, than in any Captivity; and thus he had been lost, if he had not been lost. Besides, though we have the Happiness to claim his Birth and Stem, ye have the Claim of his Succession and Education, he being now matched with the Royal Blood of *England* in Marriage. Thus his Liberty which we intreat for, is a Benefit to your selves, and those Princes which shall claim the Descent of his Offspring. For if it should fall forth, (as what may not, by the variable Changes of Kingdoms,



“ come to pass? ) that this Prince by Usurpers and Rebels were disgarnished of his own Crown,  
 “ they are your Swords which should brandish, to set him on his Royal Throne. We expect  
 “ that as ye have many Ways render'd him yours, you will not refuse to engage him yet more  
 “ by his Liberty, which he must acknowledge wholly and freely to receive from you: And by  
 “ Benefits and Love to Overcome a King, is more than by Force of Arms. And since he was  
 “ not your Prisoner by Chance of War (having never raised Arms against you) but by way of  
 “ Protection detained here, and entertained; so ye will, respecting your ancient Honour and  
 “ Generosity, send him freely back to his Own. Yet if it be so, that ye will have Acknow-  
 “ ledgment, for what ye have bestowed on his Education, the Distress of the present Estate of  
 “ his Subjects and Crown considered, we will not stand upon Trifles of Money for the Redem-  
 “ ption of a Prince above all Price.

The Lords of the Council were diverse Ways inclined to this Embassy. Some thought not fit to dismiss him; for his remaining in *England* seemed the more to assure the Kingdom of *Scotland* unto them: Having the King and his Children in their Custody, what dared they not enterprize, or not bring to pass? Or, if *Scotland* should plot any Thing by way of Rebellion, the King having his Party within the Realm, by the Assistance of the *English* would keep under the other Factions; and thus the Estate by both being made weak, it would be a fair Breach for a Conquest, and the annexing that Kingdom to the Crown of *England*. That he knew too much of the Estate and Affairs of *England* to be sent away to a Nation ever their Enemies. That being at Liberty and amongst his own, he might Resent the Injury of his long Restraint.

Others of the Council thought it best to dismiss him. They had learned by Experience, that the keeping of the King of *Scots* hindered no ways the *Scots* from Assisting the *French*; yea, rather that it did exasperate their Choler, and make them in Revenge addict themselves wholly to the *French*: The Governour no ways keeping to the *English*, but siding with the *French*, upon whom to be revenged they could find no surer Way than to set at Liberty the King, whose Return of necessity must needs change the Face of the State, and trouble him. As for the Conquest of the Crown of *Scotland*, it was not at that Time of such Moment for *England*, they having the most Part of *France* in their Subjection, which was as much, if not more, as they could hold. Then it would prove a more harmless and sure Purchase to make *Scotland* theirs, by the Succession of Lady *Jane* of *Somerset*, than by War; the Event whereof is ever doubtful and beyond any Assurance of Man. The Liberty of the King of *Scots* might prevent the encreasing Strength of the King's Enemies in *France*, and secure the Peace and Tranquillity of the Commonwealth at Home: King *James* being all *English* by Education, if he proved not of their Party, yet he must prove Neutral to both the Kingdoms.

*Henry VI.* then King of *England*, being of Under-age, was governed by his Two Uncles of his Father's Side, *Humphrey* Duke of *Glocester*, who was made Protector of his Person and Realm, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, who was established Regent of *France*; and *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*. But *Henry Beaufort* Cardinal, Bishop of *Winchester* and Chancellor of *England*, a Man eminent in Blood and Riches, Uncle to the Lady *Jane*, in effect governed all. These gave way, rather than approved that the King of *Scots* should be set at Liberty and sent Home. And though they would have dismissed him freely, in respect of the Dowry of his Queen, which was not delivered, having use of present Money for the Maintenance of the Wars in *France*, and the more to cover the Injustice of his Captivity, they thought it expedient to set a Ransom upon him.

The Commissioners having met, it was declared, That for a sufficient Sum of Money their King might return and enjoy his own Liberty; the one half to be paid in hand, able Hostages remaining in *England* till the other half was fully discharged. The Ransom agreed upon was *Four Hundred Thousand Marks*; but by the Power of the Cardinal the Third was discharged, for which he was long after accused before the King by the Duke of *Glocester*.

The Governour and Estates of *Scotland*, having known the Sum laid upon them for the Liberty of the King, though the hasty acquiring of it was grievous unto them, preferring Glory and Things necessary to Matters of Money, immediately dispatched so much as could be gathered, together with many young Noblemen of the Kingdom to remain Hostages for the rest; who (according to the *English* Writers) were *David* Son to the Earl of *Arbole*, *Alexander* Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Gordon*, *John* de *Lyndesay*, *Patrick* Son and Heir to Sir *John* *Lyon*, *David* de *Ogleby*, Sir *William* de *Rutbren*, *Miles* *Graham*, *David* *Moubray* and *William* *Oliphant*. These were honourably received, entertained and kept. The King's Brother-in-law, the Earl of *Somerset*, and the Cardinal his Uncle, accompanied the Queen to the Borders, and there taking their Leave returned back. The King with the rest of their Train, received with many Troops of Nobles and Gentlemen, who swarmed from all Parts of the Kingdom to give him a dutiful Welcome into his native Soil, and themselves the Contentment of beholding One they had so long desired and expected, with loud Acclamations and Applauses of the Commons as he held his Progress, on the Passion Week, in *Lent*, came to *Edinburgh*.





During his abode there, he assembled many of the Estates; listened to their Petitions, and prepared for the approaching Parliament, which had been summoned before his coming. The Solemnities of *Easter* finished, the King came with his Queen to *Perth*, and from thence, in the beginning of the Month of *May*, to *Scone*, where, in the Year 1424, by *Mordock* the Governour, Duke of *Albany* and Earl of *Fife* (to whom that Charge by Custom of the Kingdom did appertain) and *Henry* Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, in the 17th Year of his Age, there was a joint Coronation of himself and his Queen, being, according to the Computation of the old *Scottish* History, the Hundred and One King of *Scotland*.

At which Time *Sigismund*, Son to *Charles IV.* was Emperour of the West; *John VII.* the Son of *Andronicus*, of the East; *Amurat II.* Great Turk; *Alphonso V.* King of *Spain*; *Charles VII.* King of *France*; *Henry VI.* King of *England*; and with *Martin V.* many claimed the Chair of *St. Peter*.

The Ends in calling the Parliament were, The Coronation of the King, to make the People see a Prince's Authority was come, where they had but lately a Governour's; The establishing a Peace amongst the Subjects; and taking away all Factions; The exacting a Subsidy for the Relief of the Hostages in *England*. To this Last, the Nobles held strong Hand, by reason many of their Sons were engaged. Here a general Tax was condescended upon through the whole Realm, as Twelve Pennies of the Pound to be paid of all Lands, as well Spiritual as Temporal; and Four Pennies of every Cow, Ox, and Horse, for the space of Two Years together. When the Commons had taken it grievously that the Subsidy, granted by the States of the Kingdom in Parliament, was exacted mostly of them; after the First Collection, the King, pitying their Poverty, remitted what was unpaid, and, until the Marriage of his Daughter, thereafter never exacted any Subsidy of his Subjects. For he would gently strain Milk, and not wring Blood from the Breast of his Country, rendring the Disposure thereof Chast, Sincere and Pure for Expenses necessary and profitable, not for Profusions, which neither afford Contentment nor Reputation; for Money is both the Nerves which give Motion, and Veins which entertain Life in a State. Amongst others whom the King honoured, *Alexander*, second Son to Duke *Mordock*, was dubbed Knight.

The Parliament dissolving, the King came from *Perth* to *Edinburgh*, where having assembled all the present Officers, and such who had born Authority in the State during the Time of Duke *Robert* and Duke *Mordock*, especially those whose Charge concerned the Rents of the Crown, he understood by their Accounts, that the most Part of all the Rents, Revenues, and Lands pertaining to the Crown, were waisted, alienated, and put away, or then by the Governour bestowed on their Friends and Followers, the Customs of Towns and Burroughs only excepted. This a little incensed his Indignation; yet did he smother and put a fair Countenance on his Passion, seeming to slight what he most car'd for. Occasion thereafter no sooner served, when he began to countenance and give way to Promoters and Informers (necessary, tho' dangerous Instruments of State, which many good Princes have been content to maintain, and such who were not bad never denied to hear, but using them no longer than they were necessary for their Ends) to rip up secret and hidden Crimes, Wrongs suffered, or committed during the Time of his Detention in *England*. He received the Complaints of the Churchmen, Country-Gentlemen, Merchants, against all those who had either wronged them or the State, and would have the Causes of all Accusers to be heard and examined: Here many, to obtain the Favour of the Prince, accused others.

Upon pregnant Accusations, *Walter Stewart*, one of the Sons of Duke *Mordock*, was arrested and sent to the *Bass*, to be close kept; so was *Malcolm Fleming* of *Gummerhauld*, and *Thomas Boyd* of *Kilmarnock* committed to Ward in *Dalkeith*. Not long after (the Nobility interceding) *Malcolm* and *Thomas* (Goods being restored which they had taken wrongfully, and Fines laid upon them for their Offence, promising to satisfy all whom they had wronged) were pardoned all Faults, and then set at Liberty.

The King by listening to Promoters, came to the Knowledge of many great Insolencies committed by sundry of his Nobles: Which as it bred Hatred in Him, so Fear in Them, and both appeared to study a Novation; They for their own Safety, He to vindicate Justice and his Authority. The Duke had highly resented the Committing of his Son, as had his Father-in-law the Earl of *Lennox*. The Malecontents being many, if they could have swayed in one Body as they came to be of one Mind, threatened no small Matter. The King, from the Intelligence of close Meetings, secret Leagues, some Plots of his Nobles, began to forecast an apparent Storm in the State, and Danger to his own Person: Whereupon (being both Courageous and Wise) he proclaimeth again a Parliament at *Perth*, where the Three Estates being assembled, in his Throne of Majesty he spoke in this manner.

"I have learned from my tender Years, that Royalty consisteth not so much in a Chair of State, as in such Actions which do well become a Prince. What mine have been since my coming home and Government among you, I take first God, and then your selves for Witnesses.



"nesses. If all of them be not agreeable to you all, and if any rigorous Dealing be used against  
 "some, let him who is touched lay aside his Particular, and look to the settling of Justice in  
 "the State, and publick Good of the whole Kingdom, and he shall find his Sufferings tolera-  
 "ble, perhaps necessary, and, according to the Time, deserved. I have endeavoured to take  
 "away all Discords, abolish Factions, suppress Oppression: As no foreign Power hath attempt-  
 "ed ought against you hitherto, so that ye should nor endeavour ought one against another,  
 "nor any thing against the Weal-publick and Sovereignty. Slow have I been in punishing In-  
 "juries done to my self, but can hardly Pardon such as are done to the Commonwealth: For  
 "this have I called this Parliament. Let Rapine and Outrage no more be heard of, but every  
 "Man recal himself to a Civil and Regular Form of Life. Especially you, my Nobles, think  
 "Virtue and Civility true Nobility; that to be accounted Noblest which is Best, and that a  
 "Man's own Worth begets true Glory. By these, and the Obedience to their Princes, your  
 "Ancestors acquired what ye now enjoy: There is no stronger Means to keep the Goods acquir-  
 "ed from a Prince, than the same by which they were first purchased, which is still Obeying,  
 "Though by Leagues, Factions, and the confounding of all true Policy and Order of Govern-  
 "ment, Man may imagine he can shun the Judicatories of Man; let none, how Great soever,  
 "conceive he can save his Wrongs unpunished from the Almighty Hand of God. Ye must not  
 "hereafter count Authority, Honesty and Virtue, idle Names; nor reckon that right, which  
 "ye may win or hold by Dint of Sword. For me, I will behave my self in my Proceedings, as  
 "I must answer to God; and for you, my Subjects, do so as ye shall answer to God first, and  
 "after to your Prince whom God hath set over you. No Man's Greatness shall appal me in do-  
 "ing Right, nor the Meanness of any make him to contemptible, that I shall not give ear to his  
 "Grievance: For I will strive to do Justice on Oppressors, and support the Innocent to my ut-  
 "termost.

Here he easily found the Power which the Presence of a Prince hath over Subjects: For ha-  
 ving confirmed the Minds of the Parliament, a mutual Oath passed between him and his Subjects:  
 The King swore, If any made War against Scotland, or went about to overthrow the ancient  
 Laws of the Kingdom, to Resist and Invaide him with all his Power. The Estates swore, If any  
 by open Rebellion should Revolt or Conspire against the King, or be found to be the Authors of  
 Factions and Innovations, they should assist and side with the King with all their Forces, after  
 what manner he should command. A Solemn Act was made, that none of the Subjects should  
 bind up a League together.

The King, the more to assure the Clergy unto him, swore to defend the Liberties of the  
 Church, making an Act, that all Church Lands unjustly detained from them, during the Time  
 of his Captivity, should be restored unto them.

The Body of the Estates holding good for the King, *Mordock Duke of Albany*, with his Sons  
*Walter and Alexander*, were presently arrested and committed; as were likewise *Duncan Earl of*  
*Lennox*, and *Robert Graham* (a Man that dared Attempt those Things which no ho-  
 nest Man ever could think.) They were sent to *Falkland*, but the Duke to *Carlawarook*.  
*Archbald Earl of Douglas*, with *William Earl of Angus*, the King's Sister's Son, *George Earl of*  
*March*, and *Walter Ogilvy* were committed, but after set at liberty. *Adam Hepburn of Hailes*,  
*Thomas Hay of Tester*, with others, were sent to the Castle of St. Andrew's. That same day the  
 Duke was committed, the King seized on his Castles of *Falkland* in *Fife*, and *Down* in *Menteith*,  
 out of which he removed the Dutches to *Tantallon* in *Lothian*. *James* the youngest Son of the  
 Duke, whom former Carriage and Harmless Behaviour had exempted from a Suspicion of  
 Treachery, after the committing of his Father and Friends, (whether of a youthful Insolency,  
 or desperate Rage, resolving to do and suffer all Extremities, or that he was contented) ac-  
 companied with a Number of Out-laws, and Mountainers, on the Holy-rod-Day, called the  
 Invention of the Cross, came to the Town of *Dumbarton*, set it on fire, surprised there *John Stewart*  
 of *Dundonald* surnamed the Red, Uncle to the King, slew him with Thirty others. After which  
 Cruelty, advising with Fear and Despair, he fled into *Ireland*, where he died. The Wife of  
*Walter Stewart* his Brother, with her two Sons *Andrew* and *Alexander*, with *Arthur* a base born  
 bastard with him, where they remained till the Reign of King *James III.*

The barbarous Fierceness of *James* highly incensed the King against his Father and Race, and  
 diverted the Current of his Clemency: For when he thought by gentle Incarcerations to have  
 restrained their Malice, now he finds that that deaf Tyrant, the Law, can only secure himself,  
 and bring Rest to his Subjects. Whereupon the Year following he calleth a Parliament at *Stirling*,  
 where the Estates assembling, the Duke with his Two Sons and Father-in-law, the Earl of *Lennox*,  
 (Accusations being engrossed, and Articles exhibited against them out of the Acts of former  
 Times, of what had been done unjustly, cruelly or amiss during the King's Captivity) were  
 presented, arraigned and condemned: *Walter Earl of Arbole* being Judge, to whom were ad-  
 joined many Noblemen and Barons.

That



That same Day on which their fatal Sentence was pronounced, the Two young Men, *Walter Stewart* and *Alexander*, Sons to the Duke, were taken forth to the Hill which riseth against the Castle of *Stirling*, and had their Heads cut off. The day following *Mordock*, Duke of *Albany*, late Governour, with *Duncan Lennox* Earl of *Lennox*, was beheaded.

The Deaths of these Noblemen were so far from breeding any Distaste in the common People, that out of their depraved Disposition and Envy against their Betters, they flouted at their Fall, reproached their Insolencies, delighted in their Execution, and as much without Reason railed on them when they were dead, as they had flattered them being alive.

Whether by the Wisdom of the King it hath fallen out, who caused abolish the Indictment (being against Persons so near unto him in Blood) or bluntness of those Times, which thought such clear Evidences needed no Records, the Particulars of the Attainder of these Great Men are swallowed up in dark Oblivion. Moved at the Imprisonment of his Son, did *Mordock* with *Lennox* (hating him whom they had wronged) attempt against the King's Person; and that same very Treason which afterwards had Success, was it then between the Plot and the Execution surprised, and in the very Head cut off? The Earl of *Arbuthnot*, a Man whose Desires were both extremely wicked and unbounded, was a great Actor in this Tragedy. Did the King, standing in fear of their extraordinary Greatness, bend his Eyes upon the Disposition of the Offenders, squaring their Actions by the Rule of their Intentions, and weighing what, not how far they did offend? For Princes quickly free themselves from their very Shadows in matter of Jealousy of State. And they have great Reason to prevent such Crimes, which cannot be punished when they are committed; nor should they expect to amend a Mischief, when the Criminals are become Masters of their Judges. People believe not that any Conjure against a Prince, till they find the Treason to have taken effect, and distrust the Plot, till they see him dead. But the Death of such who are suspected to be the Authors of Disorders in a Commonwealth, spareth an infinite Number of Lives, and much civil Blood when they are first surprised; neither are too strict Circumstances of Law to be observed, when a small Delay may abolish all observing of Order and Laws.

The Duke, to raise his own Reputation to the Disadvantage of the King, with all Secrecy of his Intentions, had procured himself a vast Authority with the Nobles, by a Semblance of Liberty, waisting the Patrimony of the Crown, as remitting Treasons, restoring again Lands annexed to the Crown. He had studied so to conciliate to him the Minds of the Commons, that the Desire of a King did not much touch them, using such Moderation in his Proceedings, that his Government seemed unto many, not only tolerable, but desirable.

He had essayed to draw the Earl of *Douglas*, and had drawn the Earl of *March*, to enter into a League with him; and these Noblemen then in the Castle of *St. Andrew's*, divided the Nobility, and made them break their Allegiance to the King. Upon which Attempt, it seemeth that that Act of this King's Second Parliament was made: *That no Subjects should league themselves together.*

The King esteemed all that Government of *Robert* and *Mordock* to be an Usurpation of the Crown, and feared the like thereafter.

His Son *James* had burnt *Dumbarton*, and treacherously killed the King's Uncle, which was not done without his Knowledge, if not Counsel.

Though he relieved the King of his Captivity, he suffered him to remain very long a Prisoner; neither did he practise his Deliverance till he perceived the whole States of the Kingdom resolved to call him Home, and was compelled by the Injuries of his own Children.

To exasperate new Injuries by old Rancours, his Father *Robert*, spurred by Ambition, had furnished to Death the King's Brother *David*, in the Castle of *Falkland*, to escape whose Tyranny, the King, yet a Child, was committed to the Protection of stranger Princes.

Whatever the Particulars of their Accusations have been, it is above the possibility of any Governour, or Man in eminent Place and Authority, so to carry himself, but a discontented Prince, if he will set him to a Trial, shall bring some one or other of his Actions to whirl him within the compass of Justice. Thus the Imprecation of *Robert III.* took effect upon the Race of *Robert* the Governour: For after the Death of the Duke of *Rothsay*, he is said to have cursed him most deadly, praying, as he had slain his Brother's Son, and filled their House with Blood; so God would punish him, his Stock and Posterity. There is not any Wickedness, which beareth not its Punishment and Repentance at the last, if we can have Patience to attend the last Act of those Tragedies played on this Theatre of the World. By the Attainder of the Duke, the Earldoms of *Fife*, *Menteith*, and *Lennox* were devolved to the Crown. The Castle of *Inch-Merin* in *Loch-Lomond*, which had a While been kept good for *James*, who fled into *Ireland*, was by *John Montgomery* and *Humphrey Cuninghame* brought to the Obedience of the King.

When the Lords and Gentlemen who were in Prisons, attending the King's Pleasure, understood what necessary Justice had been executed upon the Duke and his Sons, they were grievously perplexed; yet the King, like a wise Physician, would take no more Blood than might take away the Disease and all further Causes of Faction. For within Twelve Months thereafter, he



sets them all at Liberty, and received them into his wonted Favour, upon promise of their loyal Demeanour and dutiful Obedience in Time to come. But being thus freely discharged, the Conceit was taken, that *Mordock's* Head and his Sons, with *Lennox's*, was only the Aim, and that they were used but as a Countenance of State to dazzle the Eyes of the People.

The Wars continuing between the *English* and the *French*, the one to keep what he was in Possession, of the other to re-obtain what he had lost: *Charles VII.* a wise and victorious Prince, knowing the Friendship of *Scotland* to be of no small Importance to any that would fight against the *English*, the Flower and Strength of the *Scotish* Soldiers, which had followed the *French* Wars being then blasted and spent, sendeth *John Stewart* of *Darnley*, Marshal of a Garrison of Horsemen, with the Earl of *Douglas* (as the *French* write) then Marshal of *France*, to *Scotland*, to have a fresh Supply of Men of Arms, and *Renauld* of *Chartres* Arch-bishop of *Rheims*, (who there had crowned his Master, and was Chancellor of *France*, to renew the ancient League between the *French* and *Scots*: But the main Business about which the Arch-bishop came, was the trafficking of a Marriage between *Lewis* the *Dauphine*, tho' then very young, with *Margaret* Daughter to King *James*. This Match the *English* had either neglected or contemn'd, which afterward they sued for. Therenewing of the old League and Amity between the two Nations was easily condescended unto, it being but a Witness to the World of their mutual Kindness. The chief Articles of which were;

*The War or Injury, moved or done by the Englishmen to one of the said Nations, to be as common Wrong to both.*

*If the Englishmen make War on the French Nation, then the Scots, at the Cost and Charges of the French King, shall minister to them Succours.*

*Likewise if the Scots be molested by the English Wars, the French Nation, having their Charges allowed, shall be to them Aiders and Assisters.*

*That none of both Nations shall either contract or make Peace with the Realm of England, without the Consent and Agreement of the other.*

The Marriage being found commodious for both Nations, was likewise with great Contentment agreed upon, and concluded; fresh Recruits of Soldiers were levied, and dispatched with the Ambassador to *France*.

The South and Champaign Parts of *Scotland* brought under Obedience, and a peaceful Government, the King will have the remotest Countries of his Kingdom, even those blocked and barricaded by the snowy Cliffs of *Grantsben*, to acknowledge his Justice. The Wildness of the Soil had made the Inhabitants there more fierce then Fierceness it self, and let them out to all unlawful Riots and Rapins. To restrain their Insolent Humours, and bring them within Compass of Civility, in the Year 1426, he caused repair the Castle of *Inverness*, situated in the uttermost Borders of *Murray*, which by their IncurSIONS had been turned desolate. Hither some Years after cometh he in Person, and keepeth open Court, that being near the Evil he might have the better means to provide for, and consider it. But he seemed to have arrived in some Territory of the *Scythians*, having known and found things, which none did, nor dared relate unto him: For he had learned that not many Miles off, there were Men, some of which had one Thousand, some two Thousand Robbers at their Call, who were accustomed to drive Preys from the more civil Neighbours and Borders, pilling and spoiling, polluting and ravishing, without any Difference of Right or Wrong, Holy or Profane; but only following their ravenous and insolent Humours. On the quieter sort they set Tribute, others they compel to minister to them Sustenance and Necessaries: The God, Prince, Law, which they obey, are their barbarous Chiftains, among which he is thought the best who doth most transcend in Villany.

The King seemed to give small Faith to these Relations, entertaining kindly, and feasting from all Parts, all such who deigned to see him, mostly those who were the Chiefs and Principals of the Families in these Bounds, by whose means, all, whom Innocency did guard, came freely to Court; and many guilty, by fair Promises and Hopes of the King's Clemency, presented themselves. Others, though most refractory, and unwilling at first, that they might not seem out of the Fashion of their Companions, and appear suspect, resorted thither; thinking these Offices might be interpreted to proceed of good Will and Obedience, which were done of Emulation. Forty of these Leaders and Chiefs, meeting at once, and being together within the Inclosure of the Castle Walls, were surpris'd and committed to close Prisons. Some days after, Two, whose Wickedness was thoroughly known, *Alexander Mack-Rore*, or *Mackrarey*, and *John Mackarture*, were hanged. *James Campbell*, for the Murther of *John of the Isles*, (renown'd amongst his own) was beheaded. The rest, upon hope of further Trial, were committed to Prisons, of which, for Example and Terror to others, many were executed, the Remains in peaceful manner sent home, the King having graciously exhorted them to a Life, according to the Law of God and Man.

*Alexander* of the *Isles*, Earl of *Ross*, being taken in this Trap, was brought by the King to *Perth*, where he was accused of Oppression, and many barbarous Cruelties were proved against him; yet, such was the King's Clemency, he was only some few Days committed, and after lovely Advice at the Council-table, rather to obey his Prince, than render himself Chiftain of Thievish Troops,



Troops, he was freely dismiss'd. But Benefits oblige not ignoble Minds, and Mercy shown to a fierce and obstinate Nature, disgraceth the Beauty of the Clemency of a Prince; for no sooner was he returned to his own Territories, where interpreting Imprisonment a Dishonour and Shame to a Man of his Power and Qualities, and telling that a Promise made by one imprisoned, by the Judgment of Lawiers themselves, was nothing worth; he gathered together a Rable of Outlaws and Mountainiers, came towards the Town of *Innerness*, which peaceably he entered, and was courteously received; having before dispersed his Men among the Fens and Hills towards the West, they, so soon as Night had brought the Inhabitants to rest, spoiled them, and set their Houses on Fire. And because the Castle was the Place in which he had been surpris'd, he besieg'd it with a Thousand lewd Fellows practis'd in daily Depredations and Robberies.

At the Noise of this Cruelty, the Gentlemen of the Neighbouring Shires, from all Quarters, assemble themselves for the Defence of their Friends; the King listeth speedy Preparations: At the Approach of which, the Clans, *Chatons*, and *Camerons*, with other Thieving Troops, dispersed themselves, and fled into their Lurking-holes. *Alexander* abandoned of their Forces, with so many as he could keep together, fled into *Lochaber*, from thence passed to the Isles, deliberating to go to *Ireland*: But things answered not his Expectation; for by his Spy, finding that he was way-laid, and that Numbers of People, (a Price being set upon his Head) in all Places laboured to surpris'e him; when he had long continued desolate, and a Vagabound, at last he began to interceed with his Friends at Court for Mercy to him from the King. Sundry tempt the King's Clemency, but he will not promise nor assure them of any Favour, before *Alexander* in Person, as Supplicant, render himself and his Estate to his Disposure. Thus finding no Escape, and destitute of all Help, he was imboldned to come privately to *Edinburgh*; there on *Easter-day*, wrapped in a Mourning Garment, and concealed in the Drag of the Multitude, the King being in the Church of the *Holy-rood* at Divine Service, he fell prostrate at his Knees, beseeching him for Grace, which, at the Request of the Queen, and other Assistants, he obtained. His Lite and private Estate was granted him: But that he should do no more Harm, and be reduced to a more modest Behaviour, *William Douglas* Earl of *Angus* was appointed to take him in Custody, and that within the Castle of *Tantallon*. His Mother *Euphame*, Daughter to *Walter Lesly*, sometime Earl of *Ross*, a Mannish implacable Woman, who had solicited and raised her Son to all that Mischief, was committed to the Isle of *S. Colm*.

*Donald Balloch*, Cousin-German to *Alexander* Lord of the Isles, a Man of a haughty Mind, resenting the King's Proceedings against his Cousin, raised a great Number of Outlaws and Robbers, and invaded *Lochaber*, omitting no Cruelty, which enraged Savages use to commit. *Alexander Stewart*, Earl of *Mar*, and *Alan* Earl of *Caitbness*, with such Numbers of People, as they could in haste raise, came to defend the Country against the Incursions of these Highlandmen, and rencountered them at *Innerlochy*, where, by an over-weening Opinion of Victory, which easily deceiveth young Soldiers, imagining they went to fight with untrained, raw Thieves, who would never abide their March, and misregard of Martial Discipline, *Alan* was slain, and *Alexander* Earl of *Mar* discomfited; and *Balloch*, insolent of his Victory, with a great Booty returned to the Isles. The King at the Rumour of this Disaster, in all Celerity with a great Army, came to *Dunstaffage*, intending from that to pass to the Isles, which when the Clans and other chief Men understood, turning their Defence into Submission, they came in haste to *Dunstaffage*, and humbly beg'd Pardon, laying the Fault of the whole Rebellion on *Balloch*, and some Adventuring Thieves, many of which *Balloch* had pressed to that Mischief against their Minds: The King finding extreme Rigour at that Time a Cure unseasonable, taking their Oath of Fidelity, and that they should pursue *Balloch* and his Followers, accepted them into his Favour, only transporting some of the most factious along with him. They in few Days, to seem worthy of the King's Mercy, surpris'd a great Number of them, Three Hundred of which died all on Gibbets. And Punishment had taken away a much greater Number, had he not considered, that there is no Man so miserable, who is not a Member of the State.

The King, lest Hope of Impunity might cherish Rebellion, resolves to find *Balloch*, and hearing he lurked in *Ireland*, in the Bounds of one named *Odo*, he sends to have him delivered. *Odo*, either out of Fear of the King's Displeasure, or Hope of Rewards, seizes on him; and suspecting if he sent him alive, he might by Power or Stratagem slight his Convoy, chopped off his Head, and sent it to King *James*, then remaining at *Stirling*.

The Clans, *Chatons* and *Camerons*, sparing the Magistrate's Sword, yet executing Justice by mutual Slaughters, one of another, had rendered the North very peaceable of that Scum of Thieves: Some Chiftains were shut up in fast Prisons, among which, Two most eminent in all Mischiefs, hating mortally others, and hated of all Good Men, *Angus Duff* of *Strathnavern*, and *Angus Murray*: These the King, out of Policy of State, let out, and set at Liberty, of Purpose that they might be thrust forward into a greater Danger. Returning to their wild Countries, *Duff*, nothing respecting the King's Clemency, accompanied with many Thieves and Robbers, driveth a great Prey of Cattle and other Spoils from the Confines of *Murray* and *Caitbness*; Which to recover, *Angus Murray*, that he might attempt something worthy of his Life and Liberty, followeth with



a great Power of like Soldiers; having now Authority to justify his Revenge on a guilty Enemy, he overtaketh *Duff* near unto *Serathnavern*. There strongly is it fought, neither of the Parties being Inferior to other in Number, Cruelty, or Despair. This Conflict continued so fierce and eager, that of both Sides there remained scarce Twelve Persons alive, and those so wounded, that Justice had not whom to pursue. An Overthrow delightful and commodious for the Peace and Quiet of all the honest and vertuous Subjects of these Countries.

These many Executions nothing appalled one *Mac-Donald* born in *Ross*, a Thief flesht in all Murthers, mischievous without Mercy, equally greedy of Blood and Spoil, who by Robberies had acquired great Riches. Amongst other Cruelties, he is said to have nail'd Horse Shoes to the Soles of a Widow, because in her Grief she had sworn in haste to report his Wickedness to the King. Being brought to *Pertb* by Men of his own qualities, with Twelve of his Associates, the King caused them in like manner to be shod as they had served the Woman; and when Three Days, for a Spectacle to the People, they had been hurried along the Town, his Companions were Gibbeted, and he made shorter by the Head.

Gross Enormities cut away, Pardons represt, the King maketh a Progress throughout all the Parts of his Realm, doing Justice upon all sorts of Malefactors: Neither did Pardons granted by the late Governour avail, it being alledged, that they expired by his Death; and though small Faults might have been passed by such Remissions, yet horrible and crying Crimes were not within the compass of such Authority. While he thus continues in the Administration of Justice, the favourable Eye of Providence looked upon him, and in the Year 1430, in the Month of October, Queen *Jane* is delivered of Two Sons at *Holy-Rood-House*, *Alexander* and *James*: The one deceased in his Infancy, the other succeeded to his Father and was King. To lighten the Joy of his People, and diffuse it universally, many Prisoners are set at liberty, amongst which were *Archbald* Earl of *Douglas*, and Sir *Gilbert Kennedy*, the King's Sister's Son; the Earl had been kept in *Lochevin*, the other in *Stirling*. They had been committed rather upon Suspicion of the Times, than Men; having spoken too freely against the present Government: *Alexander* Earl of *Ross* was also set at liberty. And that the King intended a real and sincere Reconciliation, the Earl of *Douglas* was made Parent of his Children at the Font. At this Solemnity Fifty Knights were dubbed, the first of which was *William Douglas*, Son to the Earl, who after succeeded to his Father in the Earldom of *Douglas*.

A sweet Calm diffusing it self through every Corner of the Realm, the King imagining the rest of his Reign to be but the enjoying of a Crown, sets his Thoughts wholly to the Works of Peace. Many unreasonable Customs (which were become to the Vulgar Laws) had many Years continued in his Kingdom, these he will either have abolished or amended. To this Effect he selecteth Persons commended for Wisdom, Gravity and Uprightness of Life through his Realm, to pry into all Abuses, hear and determine all sorts of Quarrels and Suits, if any were brought unto them, whereof the Ordinary Judges, either for Fear dared not, or Power of stronger could not, or for Hatred or Favour would not give any perfect Judgment. To them he gave full Authority to make Inquisition of the Breach of penal Statutes. Some hereby were punished by Fines, others in their Lives. He took away the Deceit which had been occasioned by Variety of Measures. For this End certain Iron Measures were appointed to be made, unto which the rest should be conform and like. Before his Reign not only in every Town and Shire, but in every Mannor and House, different Measures were current; which Abuse he abolished by Parliament.

The Roughness of the Times, and perpetual Wars and Troubles of his Ancestors, had near taken away the Arts and Handycrafts, and turned the Sciences contemptible, especially since the Reign of *Alexander III*. The Commons, by the manifold Changes and Miseries of the Age, affecting Barbarity; the Nobles making Arms their whole Study and Care. To the further Advancement of the Common-wealth, and that his Subjects might have Occasion to avoid Sloth and Idleness, the King from the Neighbour Continent, and from *England*, drew unto him the best Artisans and Manufacturers, whom either large Privileges or Money could entice or oblige. Of which such a fair Number came, and were so graciously received, that they forgot their Native-Countries, and here made their perpetual Abode. And what till this Day *Scotland* enjoyeth of them, owe all their Beginning to these Times. Schools of Learning were founded, to which great Liberties and Privileges were granted; the King well knowing that whatever is excellent in any Estate, from them had Beginning and Seed, and that there is no better Means to sweeten and tame the wild Nature of Men, than to busy their Spirits with peaceful and sedentary Exercises; rude and untrained Minds being inclinable of themselves to Tumult and Sedition. To make a necessity of Learning, he made an Act, that none of the Nobility should succeed to their Ancestors Heritage, except they had some Taste of the Civil Law, or Practice of the Countrey-Customs; but this after was by them abolished.

Many famous Men in all Sciences from the Noblest Universities of Christendom came hither, as to the Sanctuary of the Muses, where often the King himself in Person graced their Lessons, and when great Matters did not withdraw him, was Umpire to their harmless Conflicts. Being himself Religious, he advanced Men learned and of good Life to eminent Places in the Church; and



and that the best Deservers might be discerned, he distinguished the Learned into Degrees, making a Law, that none should enjoy the Room of a Canon in any Cathedral Church, unless he were Bachelour in Divinity, or at least of the Canon Law. Though he challenged King David and named him a grievous Sinner to the Crown, for dilapidating so much Rent in extraordinary Donations to the Church, yet with great Cost and Magnificence he founded the Convent of Charters in Perth, and bestowed fair Revenues upon it. The excellent Skill which he had in Musick and Delight in Poesy, made him affect Quiristers; and he was the first that erected in his own Chapels, and the Cathedral Churches of Scotland, Organs; being not much known before his Reign to the Nation.

Peace hath its own Dangers no less than Wars; yea often such States as have increased their Dominions, and become Mighty by Wars, have found their Ruine in a luxurious Peace: Men by a voluptuous Life becoming less sensible of true Honour. The Court, and by that Example the Country, was become too soft and delicate, superfluous in all Delights and Pleasures: Masques, Banqueting, gorgeous Apparel, Revelling, were not only licensed, but studied and admired: Nothing did please which was not strange and far brought; Charity began to be restrained, publick Magnificence falling into private Riot. What was wont to entertain whole Families, and a Train of goodly Men, was now spent in dressing of some little Rooms, and the womanish Decking of the Persons of some few *Hermaphrodites*.

To these the Wise King had a while given way, knowing that delicate soft Times were more easy to be governed, and a People given to mild Arts and a sweet Condition of Life, than rough and barbarous, so they turned not altogether Womanized; and that it was an easy Matter to bring them back again to their old Posture. At these Abuses some of the severer sort of the Clergy began to carp; yet could they not challenge the Prince, who in the Entertainment of his own Person, scarce exceeded the Degree of any private Man, yea was often under the Pomp and Majesty of a King. But the Blemish of all this Excess was laid on the *English*, who by the Queen (their Country-woman) with new Guises daily resorted hither, and turned New-fangle the Court. The King not only listened to their Complaints, but called a Parliament to satisfy their Humours. Here *Henry Wardlaw*, Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, highly aggravating the Abuses and Superfluities of Court and Country, all Disorders were pry'd into, and Statutes made against them. They abolished Riots of all sorts of Pearl (many Rivers in *Scotland* affording them, not only for Use, but for Excess;) only Women were permitted to wear a small Carkanet of them about their Necks. Costly Furrs and Ermines were wholly forbidden, together with the Abuse of Gold and Silver Lace. Penalties were not only imposed upon the Transgressors, but on Workmen which should Make or Sell them. Excessive Expence in Banqueting was restrained, and Dainties banished from the Tables of Epicures, with Jesters and Buffoons. In this Year 1430, the First of June, was a terrible Eclipse of the Sun, at Three of the Clock Afternoon, the Day turning Black, for the space of an half Hour, as though it had been Night: Therefore it was after called by the Commons, *The Black Hour*.

The last and greatest Matter which busied the King's Thoughts, was, the increasing of his Revenues, and bringing back the Demesnes of the Crown: A Work no less dangerous than deep and difficult, and which at last procured him greatest Hatred. For till then smothered Malice did never burst forth into open Flames. And though this Diligence of the King concerned much the Publick Weal; yet such as were interested, by rendring what they had long possessed; (though without all Reason) esteemed themselves highly wrong'd. The Patrimony of the Crown had been wasted and given away by the Two Governours, to keep themselves Popular; and shun the Envy of a factious Nobility. Thus the King had neither in Magnificence to maintain himself, nor to bestow upon his Friends or Strangers.

He had advisedly perused all Evidences and Charters belonging to the Crown: Hereupon he recalls all such Lands as had been either alienated from it, or wrongfully usurped. Together what was wont to be idly given away, as Forfeitures, Escheats and Wards, were restrained to the Crown and kept to the King himself.

There remained upon Considerations of increasing the Demesnes of the Crown, the Lands of the Earl of *March*, whose Father had rebelled against the King's Father *Robert*; though Faults be Personal and not Hereditary, and the Heirs of ancient Houses hold little of their last Possessors, but of their Predecessors: Those the King seized on. The Earl proved by good Evidences and Writings brought forth, that his Father had been pardoned for that Fault by the Regents of the Kingdom. He was answered again, that it was not in the Regents Power to Pardon an Offence against the State; and that it was expressly provided by the Laws in Crimes of Lese-Majesty, that Children should undergo Punishment for their Father's Transgressions, to the end that being thus Heirs to their Fathers Rashness, as they are to their Goods and Lands, they should not at any Time, with vast Ambition in the haughty Pride of their own Power, Plot or Practise to Shake and Tear the publick Peace of the Prince and Country.

Thus was the Remission by the Parliament declared void; and Earl *George* himself committed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. *William* Earl of *Angus*, Warden of the *Middle March*; *William*



*Craighton* Chancellor, *Sir Adam Hepburn* of *Hailer* immediately received the Castle of *Dunbar*, the keeping of which was given to *Sir Adam Hepburn*.

The King not long after set *Earl George* at Liberty, and to save him from the like Dangers, which were wont to befall his Predecessors (to fly into *England* for every small Cross, and light Displeasure at Court) he bestowed on him, as it were in Exchange, for these Lands in the *Merse*, the Earldom of *Buchan* in the North, with a yearly Pension to be paid out of the Earldom of *March*, setting *Tay* and the *Forth* betwixt him and his too kind Friends of *England*. *Buchan* had fallen to the King by the decease of *John*, who was Son to *Robert* the Governor and Earl of *Buchan*. He was slain at *Vermuil* in *France*, with the Marshal *Douglas*, and left no lawful Children after him to succeed. The Earldom of *Mar* was incorporated also to the Demefne Royal by the Decease of *Alexander Stewart* Earl of *Mar*, who was natural Son to *Alexander Stewart*, who was the Son of *Robert II.* He was a Man of singular Prowess, and in his Youth followed the Wars under *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*; he married *Jane*, Daughter to the Earl of *Holland*, and had greatly obliged his Country by transporting Stallions and Mares hither out of *Hungary*, the Stood of which continued long after to his great Commendation and the Commodiry of the Kingdom.

The Earldom of *Strathern* was appropriated also to the Crown by the Decease of *David Stewart* Earl of *Strathern*, Uncle to the King, who having but one only Daughter (who was married to *Patrick Graham*, a younger Brother of the Lord *Graham*) the Earldom being entailed to the Masculine Line, was devolved again to the Crown. Thus did King *James* succeed to Three Brothers who were Sons to *Robert II.*

All Good Men with these Proceedings of the King were well pleased, for if Princes could keep their own, and that which justly belongeth unto them, they could not be urged to draw such extraordinary Subsidies from the Blood, Sweat, and Tears of their People. Yet this was the Shelf on which this Prince perished: For many who were accustomed to be Co-partners of such Off-fallings, began to storm and repine at his Actions: But none was so implacable as *Robert Graham*, Uncle and Tutor to *Miles Graham*, the Son of *Eupheme* Daughter to *David* Earl of *Strathern*. For, plotting Mischief, he began to rail, speak in high terms, associate himself with others of his own Mind. Notwithstanding that the King, Anno 1418, in September, had bestowed on his Nephew the Lands and Earldom of *Menteith* in compensation of that of *Strathern*, to which he pretended Right, it being an Appenage of the Crown.

About this Time, Ambassadors came into *Scotland* from *Ericus* King of *Denmark*, requiring of King *James* the payment of a yearly Tribute, which was due to him as King of *Norway*, for the Western Isles, according to the Covenant and Agreement made by *Alexander III.* King of *Scotland*, and his Predecessor *Magnus*, the Son of *Acbo*, then King of *Norway*. The Ambassador was honourably received, and *Sir William Craighton* Chancellor, directed to go with him to *Denmark*, who there renewed the old League between the Realms, settled questionable Matters, and confirmed a perfect Amity and stedfast Peace.

Ambassadors came also from *Charles* the French King, not only to Confirm the old Amity between *Scotland* and *France*, but, for a better Assurance thereof, to have *Margaret* eldest Daughter to King *James* (already betrothed to *Lewis* the Dauphin, who now was Thirteen Years of Age) delivered to them and convoyed to *France*. The English foreknowing this Alliance, had before sent the Lord *Scroop*, with other Associates to Him in Embassy, to have the old League between the French and the Scots dissolved, and to join the King's Daughter in Marriage with *Henry VI.* their King; promising, if the King would thereto agree, and join in League with them, that the Town and Castle of *Berwick* should be delivered to the Power of the Scots, with all the Lands lying between *Tweed* and the *Re-Crofs*, which, when *William* the Conqueror granted *Cumberland* to the Scots, marched *England* and *Scotland*, and is now a Fragment of a Cross in *Richmond-Shire*, near the Spittle on *Strawmoor*, about which is nothing but a wild Desert.

Having Audience, the Lord *Scroop* spake before the Council to this purpose:

"I am directed hither by my Master and his Council, about a Business, which concerneth the Honour and Profit of the Two Kingdoms, above any other which can be projected; and it is the establishing of a perpetual Peace and Concord between them, and happily (when it shall please the higher Providence) their uniting in one Body, under one Prince, one Day. How vain the attempting of this heretofore by Arms hath proved, the World can but too well bear witness. The many Proofs of either's Valour against Themselves having been but a lavish Effusion of humane Blood. The fairest Way, the easiest Means to make Enmities cease and these ancient Quarrels, was begun, Sir, in your Person, by the happy Marriage of the Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, Brother to King *Henry IV.* and Son to the Duke of *Lancaster*; and prosperously hath continued these Years past. Now that Peace may be lasting, and the Affections and Minds of the two Nations soldered together, our Request is, That this Alliance may be again renewed, by the Marriage of your eldest Daughter with our young King, a most fitting and equal Match. And in seeking of her, we crave but our own; She is descended of our Royal Stem, and if again she be ingrafted in that Stock out of which she sprang, it is but natural.



“ natural. And you (my Lords) where can ye find a Match more honourable for both Nations? Where can ye find a better and more profitable Friendship than ours? Are we not a People inhabiting one Island, have we not both one Language, are we not of like Habit and Fashion, of like Quality and Condition of Life, guarded and separated from the other World by the great Depths of the Ocean? What evil Customs have come into your Country by your last Alliance with us? Nay what Civility, Policy, and laudable Fashions (to the Confusion of Barbarity) have not followed hereupon? By this the Glory of both Realms will increase, either being sufficient not only to furnish Necessaries, but even all lawful and moderate Contentments of Life to support others. Besides that, an Assurance of Defence, Strength and Power to invade, and Ease in undergoing publick Charges, will hereby follow.

“ We are not ignorant that your Lady is designed for *France*; but how long (alas) will ye continue prodigal of your Blood for the *French*? What have ye advantaged your selves by your Alliance with *France*, save that they engage your Bodies in their Wars, and by conferring upon you unprofitable Titles of Honour, take from you what is truly real? Ye are reserved as a Postern-gate, by which they may enter *England*, diverting our Forces, and transporting the Stage of the War upon our Borders. Learn to forget your *French*, or if ye be so enamoured with *France*, love her after our Manner; come take a Share, be Partakers of our Victories. Are not our Forces, being joined, sufficient to overcome, nay bring in Chains hither that King of *Bourges*, and make our selves Masters of his Continent? *France* did never so much good to *Scotland* in Twenty Years, as *Scotland* hath had Loss by *England* for the Love and Cause of *France* in one. Are not your Wounds at *Vermuil* and *Cravan* yet bleeding, and all for the *French*? It hath been your Valour, and not the *French* which heretofore empeached our Conquest and Progress in *France*: Were it not for your Swords, we had made e're now the loftiest Tops of the *Alps* or *Pyrenies* bear our Trophies. Ye say, ye reverence and cannot break your old League and Confederation with that Kingdom. Happy Leagues, but wo to the Keepers of them! Unhappy *Scotland*, and too too honest; and the more unhappy for that thy Honesty is the great Cause of thy Mishaps! How long shall that old League (counted amongst the Fables of the ancient *Paladines*) make you waste your Lives, Goods, and Fortunes, and lose your better Friends? The Geniis of this Isle seemeth to try unto us her Nurselings, to stay our cruel Hands, no longer to be her Desolation, and the Wrack one of another, not to pass over and neglect these fair Occasions of mutual Alliances, which will not only effectuate Truces and Leagues amongst our selves, but at last bring a perpetual Peace and Union: For by Interchange of Mariages (being united) this Isle shall continue stronger by entertaining Peace and Amity, than by all these Giant Walls, Rampiers of Mountains, and that huge Ditch of Seas, by which Nature hath environed and fortified her. Now, that ye may know how dearly we esteem your Friendship and Alliance, whereas others go to take from you, we will give you *Roxburgh* and *Berwick*, and all the Lands between *Tweed* and *Re-crofs*. If Shadows prevail and prove stronger with you then essential Reason, and that ye disesteem our Offer, losing this good Occasion; We as Neighbours and Friends entreat you, that ye do not uphold the *French*, now in the Sun-set of their Fortunes, and at their weakest; that ye would not shoulder this falling Wall; but that ye would live quiet within your selves, keeping your own in a Neutrality, receiving both Sides, *French* and *English* in the way of Friendship, neither Side in the way of Faction.

The *French* Ambassador spoke to to this purpose. “ It seemeth strange to me, that it should be questioned, and fall within the Circle of Deliberation, whether Old, ever True, and Assured Friends; or Old, never Trusted, and Only Enemies, should in an honourable Suit be preferred: Whether ye should stand to a Nation, which, in your greatest Calamities, never abandoned you; or embrace and be carryed away with one which hath ever sought your Overthrow. The *English* sue for your Alliance and Friendship, but it is to make you leave your old Confederates, and turn the Instruments of their Ruine, and at last bring the Yoke of Bondage upon your selves. The *French* sue for your Friendship, and Alliance, both to Support themselves and hold Servitude from you. Were not your Friendship with *France*, their Power, Policy and Number had long ere these Days over-turned your Realm; or had *France* but shown her self an indifferent Arbitress of the Blows between *Scotland* and *England*, ye had scarce till now kept your Name, less your Liberties. Can ye prove so ungrateful as not to supply them who supported you? Can ye prove so inconstant, after so many glorious Wounds received in the Defence of *France*, as cowardly to turn your Backs upon her in her greatest Need, defacing all the Traces of your former Fame and Glory? With what Countenances could ye look upon those *Scots*, which at *Vermuil* and *Cravan*, in the Bed of Honour, left their Lives, if unrevenged ye should adhere and join your selves to their Enemies and Killers? Now though ye would forsake the *French*, at this time intangled in many Difficulties, not regarding their Well-being, nor solicitous of their Standing; at least be careful of your own.

“ It cannot subsist with your Well and Safety, to suffer a bordering Nation, always at Enmity with you, to arise to that Height and Power by such an Addition as is the Kingdom of *France*.



" So soon as a State hath a Neighbour strong enough and able to subdue it, it is no more to be  
 " esteemed a free Estate. The *English* are already become so Potent, that no less than united  
 " Forces of Neighbour Kingdoms will serve to stop the Current of their Fortune. Neglect not the  
 " certain Love of the *French*, your often tried and ancient Friends, for the uncertain Friendship,  
 " and (within a little time) forgotten Alliances of the *English*, your late reconciled Enemies.  
 " But it may be, after mutual Marriages have one Day joined your Two Kingdoms in One,  
 " they will seek no Preheminency over your State, nor make Thrall your Kingdom, but be  
 " knit up with you in a perfect Union. Do not small Brooks lose their Names when they  
 " commix their Streams with mighty Rivers; and are not Rivers ingulfed, when they mingle  
 " their Waters with the Seas? Ye enjoy now a kind of mixed Government (my Lords) not liv-  
 " ing under Absolute Sovereignty: Your King proceedeth with you more by Prayers and Re-  
 " quests than by Precepts and Commandments, and is rather your Head than Sovereign, as ruling  
 " a Nation not conquered. But when ye shall be joined in a Body with that Kingdom which  
 " is absolutely Royal and purely Monarchical, having long suffered the Laws of a Conquerour,  
 " ye shall find a Change and a terrible Transformation. The free managing of your own Af-  
 " fairs shall be taken from you; Laws, Magistracies, Honours shall depend on them; the Wealth  
 " of your Kingdom shall be transferred to theirs; which to obey and prostrate your selves unto,  
 " if ye be found stubborn, ye shall suffer as a Nation conquered, be redacted into a Province,  
 " have Deputies and Governours set over you, Garrisons in your strongest Holds and Castles,  
 " and by a Calm of Peace and Union receive more fearful Blows than ye could have suffered  
 " by any Tempest of War, the Miseries of a most lamentable Servitude. What Courtesy can  
 " ye expect at their Hands, who, contrary to all Divine and Human Laws, detained your King  
 " Eighteen Years Prisoner, and besides an exorbitant Ransom (as if he had been taken in a  
 " lawful War) did not without Hostages send him home? We of *France* did never forsake  
 " you in your Extremities, and we expect ye will assist us with all your Power. They are in  
 " suit of your Daughter, but it is long after she was assured unto us; in claiming her we claim  
 " but our own. This Time past ye have only had the Custody and Education of her; yet, if  
 " they be so ambitious of your Alliance, God hath blessed you with more than this. But it is  
 " not that which they sue for, it is to make you disclaim your Friends, hate those which love  
 " you, and love them which hate you; and they are working upon you as upon a rude un-  
 " polished People. They offer to render you *Berwick* and *Roxburgh*: These Gifts of Enemies  
 " are to be feared; they know it is in their own Power to re-obtain them when they please.  
 " As for that Point, wherein they would have you indifferent Spectators of the Blows, and  
 " that it shall be profitable for you not to meddle with this War. Ye are too near engaged;  
 " neither is there any thing can be more damageable unto you: For, if ye be not of the Party,  
 " ye may assure your selves that your Country shall remain a Prey and Reward to the Conque-  
 " ror, with Content and Applause of the Vanquished, who is not bound to succour those who  
 " refused to assist and help him in his Necessities. Prove Firm and Constant to us your first Con-  
 " federates; combine your Forces with ours, and by the Assistance of that supreme Providence  
 " who pitieth at last the Oppressed, we have fair Certainties and true Hopes, to cut so much  
 " Work Abroad to the *English*, that they shall do little or no Harm to you at Home.

The King and Nobles, though it seemed more profitable for the present Time to follow the  
*English* (weighing their Offers) yet held it more advantageous and sure for Times to come to  
 follow the *French*. For if the *English* should make Conquest of *France*, the Conquest of *Scotland*  
 would scarce be one Month's work to their Power: And for matter of Alliance, God knows how  
 little Princes regard it; when occasion is offered to enlarge their Power and Dominion. There-  
 upon they declare they will not break the ancient League and Peace they have kept with *France*.

The *English* Ambassadors, denied of their Suit, went from Prayers and Requests to Threat-  
 nings and Menacings, and having Friendship refused, denounced War; If the King gave his  
 Daughter to the *French*, that they, if they could, would hinder her passage by Sea, having  
 already a Fleet prepared to this effect. And thus went away the *English* Ambassadors.

The King was so far from being moved by these Threatnings, that immediately he made  
 ready his Ships; and knowing more Affairs to be brought to a good End and finished by the Op-  
 portunity of Occasions, than by Force and Power, with an able Company of Mariners and Sol-  
 diers setteth his Daughter to Sea.

The *English* Fleet had waited upon her, but (Providence so appointing) she escaped them,  
 and they encountred a Fleet of *Spaniards* keeping their Course towards the *Netherlands*. Them  
 they beset with Fourscore Vessels, commanding the Ladies and all of their Company to be de-  
 livered unto them: When they would not accept of friendly Answers, they fall to handy  
 Blows, till in end by loss of Men and some Ships, they understood their Error. The Lady  
*Margaret*, thus without danger by the *Western* Seas, arrived at *Rochel*, having for her Convoy  
 a whole Colony of Gentlewomen (the Histories say an Hundred and Fourty went with her) all  
 of noble Parentage, of which Train were her Five Sisters. From *Rochel* she held her Progress to  
 Tours;



*Tours*; there with an extraordinary Pomp, and Magnificence the 24. of June, Anno 1436. was she married to the Dauphin *Lewis*.

The King to defray the Charges raised by Transporting and Marriage of his Daughter (the French seeking with her small or no Dowry, (these Times preferring Parentage and Beauty before Gold or Riches) all that was craved being a Supply of Men of Arms for their Support against the English) laid a Subsidy on his Subjects, the one half of which being levied, and the People grudging and repining at the exacting of the other half, (it being taken from Men who lived hardly in a barren Soil) he caused render a Part of it again, and discharged the Remainder.

At this Time, by Sea and Land, the English, in Revenge of the Refusal of the Offers of their Ambassadors, began to use all Hostility against the Scots. *Henry Percy* of *Northumberland* invaded the Country with Four Thousand Men: Whether of his own Bravery, abhorring Ease and Idleness, or that he had a Commission so to do, is uncertain. With him came *Sir Henry Clydesdale*, *Sir John Ogle*, *Richard Percy*, and many Men of Choice and Worth. The Frontier Garrisons invaded all Places near unto them. To resist these Incursions, *William Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, getteth Charge; a Man resembling his Ancestors, in all Virtues either of War or Peace, and the most eminent of his Time. With him went *Adam Hepburn* of *Hailes*, *Alexander Elphinston* of *Elphinston* in *Lothian*, and *Alexander Ramsay* of *Dalbousie*, in all being Four Thousand strong. These covetous of Glory, besides the ancient Quarrel of the two Nations, having the particular Emulations of their Ancestors to be Spurs unto them, make speedy Journeys to have a Proof of their Virtue and Courage. The Lists of their Meeting was *Popperden*, a Place not far from *Bramston*, *Rhodam*, *Rosedon*, *Eglingham*, all cheared with the Stream of a small Brook, named *Brammisb*, which, arising out of the *Cheviot*, loseth its Name in the *Till*, as the *Till* after many windings disgorgeth it self in the *Tweed*. *Adam Hepburn* and *Alexander Elphinston* led the Vanguard of the Scots; *Sir Richard Percy*, *Sir John Ogle*, of the English; *Alexander Ramsay* and *Henry Clydesdale* kept the Rears. The two Generals rode about the Armies, remembering them of their ancient Valour, the Wrongs received, the Justness of the Quarrel, the Glory of the Victory, the Shame of the Overthrow. No sooner were they come within Distance of joining, when the Sound of the Drums and Trumpets was out-noised by the Shouts of the Assailants, who furiously encountered. The Guns being about this Time found out, were here first practised between the Scots and the English in an open Field. When the Fight with equal Order had been long maintained on both Sides, now the Scots, then the English yielding Ground, many of the Commanders at length began to fall, most of the English. Then was *Percy* constrained to be at once Commander and Soldier, but ere he could be heard, some Companies had turned their Backs, among the thickest Throngs of which breaking in, he found so great Disorder, that neither by Authority, Intreaty, or Force, he was able to stay their flying. Thus distracted between the two Courses of Honour and Shame, he is hurried far from the Place of Fight, and Victory declared her self altogether for the Scots, which was not so great in the Execution, as in the Death and Captivity of some brave Men. Of the Scots Two Hundred Gentlemen and common Soldiers were slain, among which was *Alexander Elphinston*, maintaining the Bartel with his Sword, Voice and Wounds, and two other Knights. Of the English died *Sir Henry Clydesdale*, *Sir John Ogle*, *Sir Richard Percy*, with Fifteen Hundred Gentlemen and common Soldiers, of which Forty were Knights, four Hundred were taken Prisoners.

The King irritated by the Way-laying of his Daughter, the invading of his Borders, and encouraged not a little by this little Smile of Fortune at *Popperden*, it being more sure to prevent than repell Dangers, and with the same Policy to defend, by which the Enemies offend, resolveth by open War to invade *England*. He was also stirred unto this by his Intelligence from his Friends in *France*, who had brought greater Matters to pass than in so short a Time could have been expected: For concealed Envy and old Malice, bursting out between *Richard Duke of York*, and *Edmond Duke of Somerset*, *Philip Duke of Burgundy* being entred in Friendship with King *Charles*, the English began to be daily Losers, and were put out of *Paris* and many Towns of *France*. To this effect King *James* having raised an Army cometh to *Roxburgh* (a Place fatal to his) and there besieged the Castle of *Marchmont*, which is *Roxburgh*. It was valiantly defended by *Sir Ralph Gray*: But when he was come so near the End of his Labours, that they within the Castle were driven to Terms of Agreement and Conditions for giving up the Fort, the Queen in great Hasten cometh to the Camp, representing to her Husband a Conspiracy, the Greatness of the Peril of which, if it were not speedily prevented, should endanger his Estate, Person and Race. Whether she had any inkling of the Conspiracy, or contrived this to divert his Forces from the Assault, and further Harm of the English her Friends and Country-Men, it is uncertain. The King who found his Imagination wounded upon this Point, after many doubtful Resolutions and Conflicts in his Thoughts, raiseth the Siege, disbandeth the Army, and accompanied with some chosen Bands of his most assured Friends, returneth back, to provide for his own Safety. A strange Resolution, to disband an Army for a Tale of Treason. Where could there be a greater Safety for a King than in an Army? Yet have Conspiracies been often in Camps, and in his own Time, *Richard Earl of Cambridge*, Brother to *Edward Duke of York*, *Henry Lord Scroop*, with



Sir Thomas Gray Knight, at the Instigation of the *Dauphin of France*, for a great Sum of Money, conspired to Murder *Henry V. King of England*, in the midst of his Armies, if they had not been surprised. The King feared all, because he had not yet heard the Names of any; but most the Army, by reason of the Nobility, many of which, who liked not the present Form of Government, were irritated against him. Were the Conspiracy a Rebellion, and in general by them all, they were ready in Arms to maintain their Factions; and if upon Suspicion the King should attack any (being secretly joined in a League) He would hardly have meddled with their Persons, without a Civil War, which, in regard of his Engagement with *England*, he endeavoured to spare. Perplexed, pensive, and sad he cometh to *Perth*, stayeth in the Convent of the *Dominicans*, named the *Black-Friers* (a place not far from the Town-Wall) endeavouring so secretly as was possible to find out the Conspiracy. But his close Practising was not unknown to the Conspirators, as that there was more Peril to resolve than execute a Treason, a Distance of Time between the Plot and Execution discovering and overthrowing the Enterprize. Hereupon they determin'd to hazard on the Mischief, before Trial or Remedy could be thought upon.

The Conspirators were *Robert Graham*, Uncle and Tutor to *Miles Graham*, *Robert Stewart* Nephew to *Walter Earl of Athole*, and one of the King's sworn Domesticks: But he who gave Motion to all, was the Earl of *Athole* himself, the King's Father's Brother, whose Quarrel was no less than a pretended Title and Claim to the Crown; which he formed and alledged thus. His Brother *David* and he were procreated by King *Robert II.* on his first Wife *Euphem Ross*, Daughter to the Earl of *Ross*, and therefore ought and should have been preferred to the Succession of the Crown, before King *John* (named *Robert*) and all the Race of *Elizabeth Moor*, who was but his second Wife, and next them, but Heirs to King *Robert II.* They were the eldest Sons of King *Robert* after he was King, *John* and *Robert* being born when he was but in a private State, and Earl of *Strathern*: For it would appear, that as a Son, born after his Father hath lost his Kingdom, is not esteemed for the Son of a King, so neither he that is born before the Father be a King. These Reasons he thought sufficient, the King taken away, to set him in the Room of State: But considered not how Sacred the Name of King is to the *Scots Nation*; how a Crown once worn quite taketh away what Defects soever; and that it was not easy to divest a King in present Possession of a Crown, who had his Right from his Father and Grandfather, with the Authority of a Parliament approving his Descent, and excluding all others; less came it in his Thought, that those Children are legitimate and lawful, which cannot be thrust back and rejected without troubling the common Peace of the Country, and opening a Gate to foreign Invasions, Domestical Disturbances, and all Disorders, with an unsettled Course of Succession; the Common Error making the Right or Law.

*Athole* animated by the Oracle of a Sooth-sayer of his Highland Country, who had assured him he should be crowned in a Solemn Assembly before his Death, never gave over his hopes of obtaining the Crown: And being inferiour and weak in Power and Faction to the other Brothers, to compass his Designs he betaketh himself to treacherous Devices. It was not in his Power to ruine so many at once: For Mischief required there should be distance between so many bloody Acts; therefore he layeth his Course for the taking away of his Kindred one after another at Leisure: He soweth Jealousies, entertaineth Discords, maintaineth Factions amongst them. By his Counsel *David Duke of Rothsay*, the King's eldest Brother, was furnished in the Tower of *Falkland*: Neither had *James* (then a Child) escaped his Treachery, if far off in *England* he had not been preserved. He perswaded the Earl of *Fife*, that, making out of the way the King his Brother, he should put the Crown on his own Head: He trafficked the Return of King *James*, and, he being come, he plotted the Overthrow of Duke *Mordock*, by fit Instruments for such a Business, proving the Crimes laid against him in the Attainder, & he himself sat Judge against him and his Children. Thus stirring one of the Kinsmen against another, he so enfeebled the Race of *Elizabeth Moor*, that of a numerous Offspring there only remained *James* and his Son (a Child not yet Six Years of Age) upon whose Sepulchres building his Designs, with a small Alteration of the State, he thought it an easy Step to the Crown.

*Robert Graham* had been long imprisoned, & at last released; but being a Man implacable once offended, and cruel, whom neither Benefits could oblige, nor Dangers make wise, an Enemy to Peace, Factionous and Ambitious alike, by many wicked Plots afterwards, and Crimes against the Laws of the Country, driven to an Out-lawry, and to live as banished, he had ever a Male-talent against the King since the adjudging of the Earldom of *Strathern* from his Nephew *Miles*.

*Robert Stewart* was very familiar with the King, and his Access to his Chamlier and Person advanced the Enterprize: Being a riotous young Man, gaping after great Matters, neither respecting Faith nor Fame, and daring to attempt any Thing for the accomplishing of his own foolish Hopes, and his Grand-father's Aims and Ambition. These having associated unto them the most audacious, whom either Fear of Punishments for their Misdeeds, or Hopes of Preferment by a Change of the Government would plunge into any Enterprize, in the Month of

February



February, so secretly as was possible, assembled together, where the Earl spoke to this sense unto them.

"These Engagements which every one of you have to another, and which I have to every one of you, founded on the strongest Grounds of Consanguinity, Friendship, Interest of committed and received Wrongs, move me freely here to reveal my secret Drifts, and discover the Depths of my hidden Purposes and Counsels. The strange Tragedies which in the State and Government have been acted, since the coming of this English-man to the Crown, are to none of you unknown: *Mordock* with his Children have been beheaded; the Earl of *Lennox* his Father-in-law had that same End; the Nobility repine at the Government of their King; the King is in Jealousy of his Nobles; the Commons are in the Way of Rebellion. These all have been the Effects of my far-ming Policies. And hitherto they have fallen forth as fortunately, as they were ingeniously plotted. For, what more ingenious and cunning Stratagem could be projected, to decline the rank Growth of these Usurpers, than to take them away by Handles made of their own Timber? And, if there was any Wrong in such Proceedings, in small Matters Wrong must be done, that Justice and Equity may be performed in great. My Fear was (and yet is) that the taking down of the Scaffold of *Mordock* should be the putting up of ours. Crowns suffer no Corrials; the World knows, and he himself is conscious to it, that the Right and Title to the Crown, by Descent of Blood from *Robert II.* my Father, was in the Person of *David* my Brother, and is justly claimed now by me and our Nephew. As for an Act of Parliament confirming the Right of that other Race, and for Oaths of Allegiance, no Parliamentary Authority can take away Justice, and the Law of God. Neither is an Oath to be observed, when, it tendeth to the Suppression of Truth and Right: And though for a Time such Acts and Oaths have prevailed, our Designs having good Success, we shall have a Parliament approving our Right, abolishing their Pretensions, and declaring them Usurpers. This one Man and a Child taken away (if we can give the Blow) the Kingdom must Obey the lawful Successor; against whom what Subject will Revolt, or who dare take Arms? And here is more Fear than Danger. But think there were; the only Remedy of imminent Dangers is new Dangers. It was Simplicity in him to think by small Benefits that old Injuries are abolished and forgot, and that I should take patiently the Title of Earl, when I should have been King my self. By his tyrannizing Justice, if he be not hated, he is not beloved, but become terrible to his People, who now through their Poverty and Grievances affect a Novation, and obey him not out of any Affection, but through Necessity and Fear, and now he also feareth, that some do that to him which he hath deserved.

"Let us resolve his Doubts, our Ends are Honour and Revenge, our Wills against him all alike and one. The Heavens seem to conspire with us, having brought him to disband his Army, and render himself in the wished Place of our Attempts; and let us rather follow them and Fortune, which favours great Actions, than Virtue that preacheth cowardly Patience; remember how fair Glosses of Valour for the most part have been cast on the foulest Deeds, and the mightiest Families have from them derived their Honours, Shame seldom or never following Victory, however it be achieved and purchased. That Sovereignty at the first was but a violent Usurpation of the stronger over the weaker. How great Enterprizes must begin with Danger, but end with Rewards, that Death should rather be prevented than expected, and that it is more honourable to die, than prolong a Life in Misery, wandering in the Scorn of other Mens Pride. Be resolute in our Plot, put the Enterprize in Execution. Haste is the Spirit of Actions of Danger. The worst that can befall us is, since we cannot subside he being alive, that he be taken away whilst we run a Hazard of Death, which happeneth to all Men alike, with only the Difference of Fame or Oblivion with Posterity, which ariseth of an evil Action, as well as of a good, if the Action and Attempt be great. But let us not spend the Time of Execution in Deliberation.

Not long after, when they had pondered and digested the Design, *Gratham* and *Stewart* with their Accomplices, guided by Resolution, and guarded by the Darkness of the Night, came to the Black-Friars of *Perth*, and having the Way made open unto them, entered the Gallery before the King's Chamber-Door, where they attended some of their Confederates; who should have stolt away the Bar, by which means they might enter the Chamber: But before their coming Fortune casteth the Occasion in their Hands.

For *Walter Stratton*, one of the King's Cup-bearers, came forth of the Chamber, and finding armed Men rushing rudely to force their Entry, terrified with the Boldness of the Fact, with a high Voice gave the Alarm of Treason to his Master. While they are working his Death, a Maid of Honour of the Name of *Douglas* got to the Door, and essayed to shut it; but, for that the Bar was now away which should have made it fast, she thrust her Arm in the Place where it should have passed; but, that easily broken, the Conspirators rush into the Chamber, and slaying



ing all such of the Wairers as made Defence (amongst which was *Patrick Dunbar*, Brother to *George* sometime Earl of *March*) they at last struck down the King; whom, whilst the Queen by interposing her Body sought to save (being hardly pulled from him) she received Two Wounds, and he with Twenty Eight, most towards the Heart, was left dead.

Thus was King *James I.* who had so superabundantly deserved well of the Commonwealth, murdered the 21st of *February* in the End of the Year 1436, the 44 of his Age, when he had reigned 13 Years.

This King was, for the Proportion and Shape of his Body of a middle Stature, Thick and Square, rather somewhat Mean than Tall, not such as is counted for Dainty but for Gracefulness and Majesty. His Hair was Abourn, a Colour between White and Red. He was of so strong and vigorous a Constitution, that he was able to endure all extraordinary Extremities both of Travel and Want; and surpassed for Agility and Nimbleness in any Exercise his Companions. He was of so sharp and pregnant a Wit, that there was nothing wherein the Commendation of Wit consisted, or any Shadow of the Liberal Arts did appear, that he had not applied his Mind unto; seeming rather born to Letters than instructed. He wrote Verses both *Latin* and *English*, of which many are yet extant. He exercised all Instruments of Musick, and equalled the best Professors thereof. He had studied all Philosophy, but most that which concerns Government; in which what a Master he was, the Order, which he established in such a Confusion as he found in the State, both witness, and many old Laws commodiously renewed and amended; others for the Publick Good established. He was a great Observer of religious Forms: Easy for Access, fair in Speech and Countenance, in Behaviour kind, using Sleep and Meat to live, not for Voluptuousness. He had good Command over his Passions, his Desires never being above his Reason, nor his Hopes inferiour to his Desires. Though he was much obliged to the Gifts of Nature, yet was he more to his good Education and Training in *England*. Scarce had he passed the Ninth Year of his Age, when he was committed to the Sea to shun the Treasons of his Uncle, and was surprized at *Flamboy-head* in *Holderness*. *Windsor* Castle kept him a Prisoner, but by Commandment of King *Henry* he was so carefully instructed, that no Prince could have been better bred in the Schools of *Europe*. What his Valour was, the Wars of *France* bear witness: For accompanying the King of *England* there, he laid Siege to the Town of *Direx*, and with such Violence and Valour (saith the *English* History) assaulted it for the space of Six Weeks, that with main Strength he compelled it to be rendered into his Hands, and gave it to King *Henry*. That Commendation which was given him by that same King of *England*, being recorded by their Writers, proved Prophetically True of him: For the King remembering him of his Benefits received, and promising him greater, with free Liberty to return to his own Country, if he could cause the *Scots*, who were adherent to the Dauphin of *France*, to return to their native Soil and leave him: To this he answered, *He was a Prisoner, had no Possession of his Realm; that he was neither sworn to his Subjects, nor they by any Oath of Allegiance bound to him, and though he were bound to them, and they to follow his Commandment, he would foresee whether it were to him honourable, and to his Realm honest, to leave their Old Friend of France in his extreme Necessity without Aid or Comfort.* With this Answer, though the King was not content, when *James* went out of his Presence, he is recorded to have said, *Happy shall they be which shall be Subjects to a King endowed with such Wisdom of so tender Tears of Age.* His Severity in Justice was traduced by some under Terms of Cruelty; but considering the Disorders of his Country, by the fierce Nature of the People over whom he ruled, who by often Rebellions did not only exasperate him to some Severity, but even constrain him to keep them in awe, his Rigour was rather an Effect of Necessity than of his natural Disposition. No Prince did more reverently entertain Peace at Home amongst his Subjects, nor more willingly conclude the same amongst Strangers. There is no Prince more cruel than he, who by a Facility and evil measured Pity, suffers Robberies, Rapes, Murders, and all sort of Oppression and Abuses to overturn his Country, in which a whole State is interested, when the strictest Justice toucheth but some particular Persons. By him Abuses were reformed, Defects repaired, Sedition and Discord was put from the Nobles, Equity and Industry restored to the Country, every Man had a Certainty of enjoying his own with Security. Into all Men was either infused a Will to do well, or a Necessity of so doing imposed upon them, virtuous Actions being honoured, Crimes punished. The Mean Man did Respect the Great, not Fear him; the Great Man did Precede the Mean, not Contemn him; Favour was mastered by Equity, Ambition by Virtue: For the excellent Prince by doing well himself, had taught his Subjects so to do.

He was one of the worthiest of all the Kings of *Scotland* till his Time: Of the former Kings it might have been said, The Nation made them Kings, but this King made that People a Nation. He left behind him One Son and Six Daughters, King *James II.* *Margaret* Wife to *Lewis XI.* King of *France*, *Elizabeth* Dutches of *Bretaigne*, *Jane* first of *Angus*, and then Countess of *Huntly*, *Elenora* married to *Sigismund* Arch-duke of *Austria*, *Mary* Wife to the Lord of *Campvere*, and *Annabella*. He was buried in the Charter-house of *Perth* which he had founded,

where



where the Doublet in which he was slain was kept almost to our Time as a Relick, and with Execrations seen of the People, every Man thinking himself interested in his Wrong.

The Rumour of his Murder blazed abroad, it is incredible what Weeping and Sorrow was through all the Country; for even by them, to whom his Government was not pleasant, he was deplored, and the Act thought execrable. The Nobles of their own Accord and Motion, from all Parts of the Kingdom assembled and came to *Edinburgh*, and ere they consulted together (as if they had all one Mind) directed Troops of armed Men through all the Quarters of the Kingdom, to apprehend the Murderers, and produce them to Justice. Such Diligence was used (Grief and Anger working in their Minds) that within the Space of Fourty Days all the Conspirators were taken, and put to shameful Deaths. The common Sort, as *Christopher Clawn*, or *Cabown*, and others that were of the Counsel in the Conspiracy, having had Art or Part in the Plot, were hanged on Gibbets. The chief Actors, that the Common-wealth might publicly receive Satisfaction, were made Spectacles of Justice by exquisite Torments. The Punishment of *Athole* was continued Three Days: On the First he was stript naked to his Shirt, and by a Cran fixed in a Cart, often hoisted aloft, disjointed, and hanging shown to the People; and thus dragged along the great Street of the Town. On the Second Day he was mounted on a Pillar in the Market-place, and crowned with a Diadem of burning Iron, with a Placard bearing, *The King of all Traytors*: Thus was his Oracle accomplished. On the Third he was laid naked along upon a Scaffold, his Belly was ript up, and his Heart and Bowels taken out and thrown into a Fire flickering before his Eyes. Lastly, his Head was cut off, and fixed in the most eminent Place of the Town, and his Body sent in Quarters to the most populous Cities of the Kingdom to remain a Trophy of Justice.

His Nephew *Robert Stewart* was not altogether so rigorously handled, for that he did but Consent to others Wickedness, being only hang'd and quarter'd.

But for that it was notorious *Robert Graham* had embrued his Hands in the King's Blood, a Gallows being raised in a Cart, he had his right Hand nailed to it, and as he was dragged along the Street, Executioners with burning Pincers, tore the most fleshy Parts off his Carcase: Being nip'd, torn and flay'd, his Heart and Entrails were thrown into a Fire, his Head exalted, and his Quarters sent amongst the Towns, to satisfy the Wrath and Sorrow of the injured People: Being asked during his Torture, *How he dared put Hand in his Prince?* He made Answer, *That having Heaven and Hell at his choice, he dared leap out of Heaven and all the Contentments thereof, into the flaming Bottoms of Hell*: An Answer worthy such a Traytor.

*Aeneas Sylvius*, then Legate in Scotland for Pope *Eugenius IV.* (afterward Pope himself) having seen this sudden and terrible Revenge, being a Witness of the Execution, said, *He could not tell whether he should give them greater Commendations that revenged the King's Death, or brand them with sharper Condemnation that distain'd themselves with so bainous a Parricide.*



E H T



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Reign of *JAMES* the Second,  
KING of SCOTLAND.

**S**carce were the Tears dried for the Loss of the Father, when the Three Estates of the Kingdom meet, and, at *Holy-Rood-house*, set the Crown upon the Head of the Son, then a Child, in the Sixth Year of his Age. The Government of the Realm is trusted to *Sir Alexander Livingston* of *Callendar*; the Custody of the King's Person, with the Castle of *Edinburgh*, are given to the Chancellor *Sir William Greighton*; Men (for that they had been ever faithful to the Father, without apparent Vices, of no Capacity to succeed, nor entertaining aspiring Thoughts for a Diadem) held worthy of these Charges and Dignities. Good Men may secure themselves from Crimes, but not from Envy and Calumnies; for Men great in Trust in publick Affairs are ever assaulted by the Ambition of those who apprehend they are less in Employment than they conceive they are in Merit.

*Archbald* Earl of *Dowglas* grudged mightily that the State had bestowed those Honours upon Men far inferiour to him, as tho' by this the many Merits of his Ancestors had been forgotten, and his own Services neglected; they being ever accustomed in Times of Peace to be nearest the Helm of the State, and when any Danger of War blazed, sent abroad to encounter it. In a Confusion of Thoughts, being diversly tossed, he retireth to his own Castles, and after great Resolves, proclaimeth that none of his Vassals or Tenents, especially within *Annandale* and *Dowglas-dale* (Parts remote from the more civil Towns of the Kingdom) should acknowledge the present Government, or obey any Precepts, Licenees, or Proclamations whereunto the Governour's or Chancellor's Hands were set. If any Question of Law or Contention arose amongst his Friends, Vassals, and Tenents, he knew none fitter to be their Judge, sentence all their Wrongs, atone, and take up their Quarrels, than himself. To discover to the World the Weakness of the two Rulers, and how Men never so well qualified, small in Means, and silly of Power, were not for great Places; he giveth way for the Increasing of Evil; overlooking many Disorders, of which he was the secret Cause, especially the Insolencies of vagabounding and ravaging Borderers. Men of purpose sent forth to spoil and rife the more quiet Parts of the Country, and to cut out Work to these strengthless Statesmen, as he named them. Thus, as overcome with Sloth and Pleasure, he passed some Months amidst Country Contentments, expecting what Effect Time would bring forth of the equal Authority of those two Governours: For to fit Minds equal in Authority to so even a Temper, that they should not have some Motions of dissenting, he thought impossible. Neither did this Conjecture fail him, the Event being the only Judge of Opinions: For after this the Governour began to jar with the Chancellor for ingrossing wholly to himself from his Partner the Person of the King, as an Honour which could not altogether be separated from his Place, and which would give the greater Authority to his Proceedings; urging that the Chancellor in many other Matters, had usurped and taken upon him more than the Parliament had granted. The Chancellor was no better affected toward the Governour; what the Governour commanded to be done, he, one way or other, overturned. The Buildings of the one were by the other demolished: By common and continual Brawlings thus living in Turmoil, neither of them was obeyed, the Country usurped a licentious Liberty, every Man doing what he thought best for his particular Advantage and Gain. The remote Villages of the Kingdom are left a Prey to the lawless Multitude: Where their Authority is scorned, they turn Places of Robbery; where admitted, Places of Faction.



The Queen all this Time, after her ordinary Custom, remained in the Castle of *Stirling*. The Divisions, Partialities, and Jealousies of the Rulers, she taketh in an evil Part, knowing usually they had a dangerous Consequence. She had ever found the Governour Sincere and Loyal in his Proceedings; against his Counsell and Will her Son was kept from her by the Chancellour, whom the great Ones hated for possessing the King, for drawing to Offices of best Trust and Benefit his own Creatures, displacing such as he suspected to favour his Partner in Rule: And the Commons loved him not, as managing every Thing after his Pleasure to their Damage and Loss. Transported by divers Motions, she at last resolveth to change the Game of State, and by a Womanish Conceit to befool Masculine Policy. To effectuate her Purpose, she came to *Edinburgh*, and by many fair and passionate Speeches obtained of the Chancellour to enter the Castle, and delight her self some Days with the Company of her Son. Then to countenance her Plot, she giveth out a Pilgrimage intended by her to the *White Kirk* in *Buoban*: There will she make Offerings for the Health of the King, and perform her other Vows. The honest Statef-man, who thought it Disloyalty to Distrust a Queen, and a Mother, whom Years had made Reverend; and Impiety to hinder such religious Intentions, giveth leave to her self, with some Servants, to remain in the Castle, and to transport her Household-stuff and other Necessaries after what manner she pleased. In this time she perswadeth the King, wantonly set and delighting to be obsequious to Her, his Mother, to be handsomely couched in a Trunk, as if he had been some Fardel of her Apparel, and conveyed by one of her trustiest Servants upon a Sumpter-horse to *Leith*. From whence he was put forward by Water to *Stirling*, there received by the Governour, and welcomed with great Joy and Laughter, at the manner of their so quaintly deceiving the grave Man.

By this advantage the Reins of Rule were now taken by the Governour; The Queen's Trick is approved, his own Proceedings are strengthened and confirmed. Proclamations are made against the Chancellour, and he charged to render the Castle of *Edinburgh* to the King; Which he refusing to do, by a great Power raised by the Governour of the Country, and the Queen's, and his own Followers, he is besieged and blocked up within the Castle.

The Chancellour ready to fall in the Danger, considering he had to do with too strong a Party, imploreth the Assistance of the Earl of *Dowglas*: But the Earl, as a Matter he had long expected and earnestly wished might fall forth, refuseth to assist any of them, saying it belonged not to the ancient Nobility to succour these Mushrooms, whose Ambition with no less could be satiated, than the Government of the whole Realm. This disdainful Answer, procured a Meeting of the two Rulers, which concluded in the Rendering of the Castle to the Governour, and a Promise of true Friendship between them, that they might not prove Sport to the envious Nobility. The Governour, to shew the Roundness of his Intentions and his Honesty, continueth the Chancellour in his Office; and restoreth him to the keeping of the Castle of *Edinburgh*. After this Agreement the Earl of *Dowglas* left this World at *Restalrig* the Year 1439. leaving behind him a Son born of the Earl of *Crawford's* Daughter, named *William*, who succeeded to his Father's Honours and Ambition.

*Malcolm Fleming* of *Cumbernald* and *Alan Lawder*, upon this young Earl's Oath of Allegiance to the Crown of *France*, obtain to him from the *French King* the Duchy of *Turain*, which his Father had enjoyed, and was at first given to *Archbald* his Grand-Father slain at *Vermuil*. This foreign Dignity, with his Titles at Home, made the young Man very haughty, and to forget Moderation; Discretion in Youth seldom attending great Fortunes. He surpassed far the King in his Followers and Train, being accustomed to have Hundreds of Horse-men attending him; most of which were Robbers, and Men living upon unlawful Spoils all under his Protection. But, however thus he seemed to set forth his Greatness, this seemed much to bewray a Distrust, and that he rather travelled amongst a People which hated him, than amongst his Friends and Men lovingly disposed.

*James Stewart* Son to the Lord of *Lorn*, about this Time married the Queen Dowager, not so much out of Love to her Person or Dowry, as out of Ambition, by her Means intending to reach the Government of the State, and get into his Custody the Person of the King. And that it might rather seem the Work of others out of Conveniency, than any Appetite of his own, he so insinuateth himself with the Earl of *Dowglas*, that the Earl essayed to lay the first Ground-work of his Aims. The Governour, who never wanted his own Spies near the Queen, at the first Inkling of this Novation, committed both him and his Brother *William* in the Castle of *Stirling*. The Queen, (whether she followed her Husband, or was restrained, uncertain) stayed with them, and now began to repent her of the former Courtesies done to the Governour; wishing her Son had yet remained in the Custody of the Chancellour, who, not so displeased at their Imprisonment, as he appeared in outward Show (delighting in the Errors of his Partner) by *Alexander Earl of Huntly* trafficked and wrought their Liberty. Thus insinuating himself in the Queen's Favour, he irritated her against the Governour; whom yet outwardly he entertained with Ceremonies of Friendship, approving his Sagacity in preventing a Storm in the State before it brake forth.

Here



Here the Governor found how that same Key which can open a Prison can shut it up, for after christie Queen prepared her son for a Change. The Governor carefully ministering Justice at Edinburgh the Chancellor the Morning cometh to the Park of Stirling where the King was hunting, by the Provost's of his Mother more early raised for this Sport. She bewailed the present Estate of his Court, but that he was thealled to the Covetousness and Pleasure of others, living under the Power of a Mangety of Butler Thara King of France is declared to be of full Years and Major the Fourteenth of his Age. Thara Prince should transfer his Affection especially in tender Years. That by an Escape he might enjoy a Princely Freedom, better know himself, and make his Rulers relish his Authority. That Three Hours were sometimes of more Importance than Three Days, and One hour of more than all the Three. That he should take hold of the present Occasion offered him.

Prepared with such Informations he is no sooner accosted by the Chancellor, when, approving this Motion, he posteth towards Edinburgh with him. Received all the Way as he went with many Companies of the Chancellor's Friends and Attendants. The Governor finding the Face of the Court altered, by a King young in Years and Judgement, possessed by his Mother, dissembling his Interest, in a patient and calm manner cometh to Edinburgh. There after long Conference and Mediation of Friends in St. Giles's Church, he meeteth the Chancellor, and by the Bishop of Murray's and Aberdeen's Diligence, an Agreement is between them concluded, which was, That the King should remain in the Custody of the Chancellor, and the Governor should still enjoy his Charge. Amongst these Divisions of the Rulers, the Queen all this Time hand- somly kept some Authority, affecting and entertaining sometimes the one of them, sometimes the other, as by Turns they governed the King and State.

The many and great Disorders in the Country invited a Parliament: The Authority of Magistrates was despised, no Justice was administered in many Places; few could keep their Goods, or be assured of their Lives, but by taking themselves to the Servitude of one Faction or other. Troubles arose in the West by the Slaughter of Sir Allan Stewart Lord Darnley, killed by Sir Thomas Boyd; and by the Revenge of his Death, taken by Sir Alexander Stewart of Balmahis Brother, upon the Boyd. The Highland Islanders invade the Territories adjacent to them, spoil and burn the Lennox, where John Colburn of Luss is massacred. These Cruelties and Injuries against all Justice and Authority, being avouched such to be, were held fit to be remedied, and Courses laid down to obviate them. But William Earl of Douglas, permitting Wickedness, and winking at Mischief, often approving them for lawful and good Policy, whilst he neither reformed them himself by his Power, nor suffered the Rulers to proceed against them by their Authority, purchased to himself the Name and Reputation of a lawless and strong Oppressor. The three Estates assembled, Complaints being given up against Oppressors, most against him and his Followers, as the Source from which the Miseries of the Country sprang, he appeareth not, nor any to answer for him.

The Parliament determineth to proceed by way of Rigour against him. But to this the two Rulers oppose, persuading them, That fair Speeches and Entreaties, were a safer and easier Way to draw unto them a young Man, mighty in Riches and Power, arrogant by his many Followers and Vassals, than to give out a Sentence against him before he were heard, and by Threatnings stir his turbulent and ambitious Thoughts, which, instead of making him calm, might turn his Neutrality into a perfect Rebellion, and his Insolency into Madness and Despair. Neither, as the present State of the Country stood, could he without civil Blood be commanded and brought in, which by Moderation might be effected. That Verity enjoyed not always that Privilege to be spoken in every Place and Time: It was good to keep up in Silence Matters concerning him, the speaking of which might produce any dangerous Effect.

Upon this, Letters in their Name are sent unto him; Reminding him of the Splendour and Glory of his Ancestors, the Place and Dignity he possessed by them in Parliament: That without his Presence they neither would nor could proceed in great Matters. If he apprehended any Cause of Let or Stay by the Offences and Disorders committed by his Attendants and Followers, they would freely remit them, as Accidents following the Injury of the Times, and his yet tender Years, his greatest Fault being his giving Way, but of Rashness and Negligence, to the Faults of others. That of himself they had conceived such singular Hopes of great Towardness and all Virtues, if he would come and take a Part with them, giving in his Complaints and Grievances, he should not only have full Satisfaction, but be honoured with what Place or Charge in the Government he liked best. By honouring them with his Presence he should oblige not only his Country infinitely, but particularly every one of them to stand for him to the utmost of their Powers and Wishes.

This Letter wrought powerfully upon the Mind of the Earl, by Nature and Years, desirous of Glory and Preferment, and believing easily that which was plausible to his Hopes. His Friends, who now began to promise to themselves new Pleasures, think upon great Matters, and forecalt to themselves by the Change of their Lord's Fortune, a Change of Offices in the State, persuade him likewise to come to the Parliament, and they divulged the Certainty of his Progress. The



Chancellor, when he understood he was upon his Way, rode forth of *Edinburgh* to meet him, and by many obsequious Compliments and friendly Blandishments, allured and drew him to his Castle of *Creighton* which was in his Way: Where some Days he rested, and was honorably entertained. Amongst many healthful Admonitions by way of Counsel, he told him, "That the Greatness of a Subject consisted in due Obedience to his Prince, whom he should acknowledge to be his Lord and Master. That, by Obedience, he would vindicate the Name and Families of the *Dowglasses*, not only from Blame of Treason, but from all Suspicion of Novations. That he would endeavour to execute Justice more strictly than he had done in Times past, not protect Oppressors against Law and Equity, but suppress all Insolencies against Thieves and Robbers, because Cruelties and Wrongs never stood secure before either God or Man. That the Estates of ancient Houses were often maintained more by Reputation of Things done, than any other Foundation, which a little Disobedience to a Prince might shake, if not altogether ruine. That it was fatal to all Princes in their Under-age, and the Beginnings of their Reigns, to have Troubles and Seditions, and be tormented by some of their Subjects who studied Novelty: But when these Princes came to perfect Years, they knew well to chastise those who troubled the Government in their Youth. That he would hereafter rather content himself with Mediocrity, than expose himself as a Mark to Envy. That he would make a Proof of his Power, not in Excess and Riot, or Pride of his ancient Honours, but in Bounty and Religious Charity towards his Country-men. That he wished, as his House had long continued, it might, by following what he had spoken unto him, ever flourish."

The Earl, of a good Inclination, if Flatterers and wicked Company had been removed, took in good part his Advertisements and Counsel, thinking he spake as he thought, and (perhaps) then so he did; for he had not yet put on his double Visage, and promised to repair what Offences by Youth, Negligence, Rashness, or other Indiscretion had escaped him. Thus, with his Brother *David*, the Chancellor accompanied him to *Edinburgh*.

He had not long there stayed, when the frequent Meetings, many secret Conferences of the Governour and Chancellor at their several Houses, which often held the greatest Part of the Night, who were not wont to be so Kind to others, bred a great Jealousy and Suspicion in some of the Earl's Friends, that some lurking Mischief was a-plotting to intrap him; that small Trust should be had in a reconciled Enemy, and his many Courtesies, and too exceeding Favours, were to be suspected. Hereupon some freely counsel the Earl to return Home, and to leave off private Meetings with them. Others intreat him not to enter the Castle of *Edinburgh* at all, or if he should, to dismiss his Brother *David*, to keep themselves scattered, that they might not be inclosed in one Net, as their Father, upon his Death-bed, had instructed and admonished them: For if any violent Course were intended against them, Men would not dare to put in act against one of them, which they would against both. *David* presaging some strange Accident to follow this sudden Kindness of the Rulers, was meditating an Escape. The Earl took this Counsel in evil part, saying, "Great Families never wanted turbulent Friends, to whom common Confusions served ordinarily for Steps to enlarge their States, when Peace sendeth the most part of them Home to live private Men: And they cared not what Blame were laid on their Chiefs, so it stood with their own Commodity. That the Pretence of his Departure would be worse than the Departure it self, and that he would be obnoxious to worse Surmises, and more miserable Mistakings by going away, than if he had never appeared. That he preferred the approved Trust of the Chancellor (whose Guest he had been) to all the Objections of Dangers they could imagine: Which Suspicions he requested them to suppress; for to Suspect causeth, instead of imagined Wrong, returned a real Injury; and being known, would be a Means to breed new Jarrs, and break their begun Friendship. Thus blind-folded by Destiny, and accompanied with some of his dearest Friends, amongst whom was Sir *Malcolm Fleming* of *Cumbornald*, in solemn Pomp, with his Brother, he entred *Edinburgh* Castle the 24th of November: The Remainder, who were thrust back, with sad Countenances and distrustful Hearts, scattered themselves in the Town.

The Governour, that the Envy might be divided and shared, and all seem to be done by an universal Consent, with a ceremonious Welcome, and such as Hate and Emulation could suffer to be tempered together, did meet him and guide him to the King: At whose Table he was set to dine. Which Favours turned the Heart of the young Earl so soft and relenting, that he wished he had sooner come to Court, and challenged himself of his mistrustful Thoughts, but more his suspicious Friends, whose Presence he could have desired to be Witnesses against themselves. The Counsel given him at *Creighton*-Castle, by Obsequiousness, he resolveth to thank: The King's benign Aspect, and Courtesies of the Rulers, had advanced him to the highest Degree of Honour.

Amidst these Entertainments (behold the Instability of Fortune!) near the End of the Banquet, the Head of a Bull (a Sign of present Death in these Times) is set down before him: At which sudden Spectacle he leapt from the Table in Horror and all agast. But this doth little avail him, he hath no Power; for he is seised upon by armed Men, who rushing out of a cruel

Tying



Tyring House, led him to the outer Court of the Castle, not regarding the Plaints, Cries and Tears of the young King, who pitifully mourned to see him manacled with Cords: There, with his Brother *David* and Sir *Malcolm Fleming*, his constant Friend and Co-partner of all his Fortunes, he had his Head and ambitious Thoughts cut off. With this great Blow of State the Parliament broke up, leaving Grief, Terror and Astonishment in the Hearts of all the People, who ever after hated the Actors of this Tragedy.

*William Earl of Douglas* and *David* his Brother taken away, the Baron of *Abercorn* their Uncle, succeeded to the Earldom by reason of his Stature and Corpulency named *James the Gross*: A Man free of any Vice or Heroical Virtue, whose Years were not many after his Fortune to be Earl. He was Father to Seven Sons, the eldest of which, by a Dispensation from the Pope, he married to *Beatrice*, the only Sister of his Brother's Son *William*, named, *The fair Maid of Galloway*, not so much in Respect of her Beauty as her Fortunes; the Lands not entailed in *Galloway*, *Annandale*, *Balveny* and *Ormond* falling from the Heirs Male to be her Portion. This Marriage was much blamed and cried out upon by the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *John Douglas* of *Dalkeith*, and other Gentlemen of that Name, not, as they gave out, for the Propinquity of Blood, being between Cousin-Germans, but that so fair and easie a Purchase was taken out of their Arms. They had always followed the King, and procured Prohibitions of the Marriage: But these with Spurr-haste advanced the Celebration of it, and upon a *Friday*, which the common People prognosticate to be ominous, and to have some sad Event.

This Earl, Ambitious, Factionous, Popular, Subtile, Vindictive, Prompt in the Execution of his Enterprises, Liberal, and far from the dormouse Humour of his Father, began to think neither himself nor his Kindred in Safety, if the Deaths of his Brothers and Cousins, wrought by the two Rulers, remained unrevenged: And therefore, since openly, without troubling the common Peace of the Country, he could not; by secret and umbragious Ways he laboureth to bring it to pass: Procuring afar off a Disobedience to their Decrees, and Contempt of their Authority, by Men in a great Distance from him in Place, Blood, Friendship and Familiarity. These who after any Fashion grudged, repined, and complained of the present Form of Government, or aggravated imaginary Wrongs, are supported and protected by him: His Houses turned Places of Refuge to distressed Malecontents. One *John Gormack* of *Athole* (not without Suspicion that he wrought by the Motion and Order of the Earl, and understood his Cabal) essayed with a great Number of Outlaws to hinder the Execution of a Malefactor, and take him by main Force from the Sheriff of *Perth* *William Ruthven*: But he perished in the Enterprize. *Patrick Gilbreath* in the Castle of *Dumbarton*, for Priority of Command, killeth *Robert Semple*, and to save his Person, or justify his Homicide, flyeth to the Earl of *Douglas*, by whom he is protected, notwithstanding the many Informations given in against him at Court, and his Citation to answer to Justice.

The King, whose Non-age was now near expired, began to relish the Sweetness of Government in his own Person, and became tyr'd of the long and awful Tutelage of his jarring Rulers; and the Flower of his Youth, seeming fram'd for great Affairs, promised the Fruit of a wise and happy Reign. Finding it difficult to put Men, daily near unto him, long experienced; and greedy of Rule, from high Places, except by the entertaining a stronger and more powerful Faction, he setteth his Thoughts upon the Earl of *Douglas*: Small Favours to him would be a great Umbrage to the Ambition of his Tutors, bring them within the Compass of answering to what might be objected to them concerning their Service in the State. He would not sue the Earl, but as Occasion served, he gave many Signs and often Speeches, that he had not altogether withdrawn his Love and Favour from the ancient House of the *Douglases*, their past Faults being by them acknowledged and recompenced with Fidelity and Obedience in Times coming. The Earl of *Douglas*, whose Towardness and Liberality had acquired him many Friends at Court, upon assured Advertisement of his Prince's good Will towards him, cometh to *Stirling*, and is no sooner presented upon his Knees before the King in the Church, when with all Demonstrations of Benevolence he is received into Grace, pardoned, and not many Days after admitted to be of the Privy Council. The King imparting to him his greatest Affairs, sheweth he will follow them by his Advice and Counsel, honoureth him with the plausible Name of *Cousin*, and entertaineth such Familiarity with him, that all others give him the Place.

The Promotion and Credit which the Earl of *Douglas* in a short Time acquired about the King, his Faction daily increasing, moved the two Rulers (by their Moderation seeking to avoid Disgrace) to leave the Court. After which they were both removed from their Offices, and their Places and Authority in Council, with their whole Friends and Followers. They are upbraided with Disorders, both in their private Actions, and the Manner of their Government; and at last are summoned to answer before the King to such things as they should be legally accused of. The Murmurs every where whispered amongst the People, warned and certified them, if they should appear and present themselves, of some sad and tragick Act: Whereupon, with Protestations of their Innocency declining the Time, appealing to the King in his Majority, and when he should be of full Years, from these Judges, their mortal Enemies; then abusing absolute



Power, they suspend their appearing, declaring withal their Readiness in every thing to Obey the King.

This availeth them nothing, for, at a Parliament holden in *Seirling*, Articles being forged and urged against them, especially of Peculate, as Sale of Crown-Lands, Waste of the King's Treasure, the laying of their Hands upon the King's Jewels, transporting Lands to themselves and their Friends, distributing Offices and Places of the Crown and State (which should have been by Authority of the Council) as Hunters divide a Prey between themselves, dispensing with Riots, and taking off the Force and Vigour from the Laws of the Kingdom. Thus, as betraying the Administration of the Realm into the Hands of worthless and corrupted Men, they are denounced Rebels, their Persons and Estates proscrib'd. Charge is given to Sir *John Forrester* of *Constorbine* and others the *Dowglasses* their Adherents, to bring all their Moveables to the Use of the Exchequer, demolish their Houses, invade their Friends with Fire and Sword, and all that sided with them. Thus the uncertain Vicissitude of humane Accidents, overturns often them who seem to be raised to the highest Degree of Honour. The Castle of *Barentren* is besieged, taken, thrown down, with other Houses upon the Governour's and Chancellor's Lands, and their Farms and small Villages are plundered and ransacked. In Revenge of which, the Rulers waste the Earl of *Douglas's* Territories; the Villages of *Straw-Breck*, *Abercorn*, and *Blackness* are burnt, with *Constorbine*. The Ravage begun, continueth with daily Loss to both Parties, and the Overthrow of the Common-Wealth.

The Earl wondreth (now having the King's Authority) to find his Enemies so strong, and hold so long out against him, He suspecteth they have secret Support by some not well affected towards him. The most powerful and eminent of which he guesseth to be *James Kennedy* Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and Cousin-german to the King. He knew him jealous of his sudden Favours at Court, and that he had whispered amongst his Friends, that he feared the Ambition of the Earl's unlimited Heart was now exalted to such Exorbitancy of Height, that becoming top-heavy it would fall by its own Weight, and turn up the Root.

The Earl will have this Prelate less Powerful to assist the Rulers, or do harm unto him. To this effect he instigateth the Earl of *Crawford* his Ally, and *Alexander Ogilvy* of *Immercarty*, to invade the Bishop's Lands, and rife his Vassals in *Fife*, without Order or Declaration of Wrongs done by him. The Bishop, after the burning and spoiling of sundry of his Farms, being weak by Power to resist their Violence and repair his Losses, took him to his Spiritual Arms, and excommunicated the Earl of *Crawford*. Though he made small Account of this verbal Thunder, yet did not this Injustice long escape the revenging Hand of God, who raised up ordinarily one Oppressor to execute his Justice against another.

*Alexander Lindsay*, Son to the Earl of *Crawford*, pretended a Title to the Baylerie of *Aberbrothock*, out of which he was kept by *Alexander Ogilvy*, whose Title was equal to his, if not better. This Enmity kindled to such a Flame, that upon either side they assemble their Friends in Arms: The *Ogilvy* calleth the Lord *Huntly*, the *Lindsay*, the *Elphinstons* to assist their Rights: Frequent Meetings have been to calm Matters, and reconcile them, and nothing agreed upon nor concluded, they resolve at last to decide the Cause by their Swords. The Earl of *Crawford* then remaining at *Dundee*, advertised of the present Danger of his Friends, posteth in all Haste to *Aberbrothock*, and cometh at the very Shock of the Skirmish, and when they were to enter the Fight. Here intending by his Wisdom to take up the Quarrel, and presuming upon the respect due to his Place and Person, the rashly rusheth forwards before his Companies to demand a Parley of *Alexander Ogilvy* with his Son: But ere he could be known, or was heard, he is encountred by a common Soldier, who thrust him in the Mouth with a Spear and prostrate him dead upon the Ground. This sudden Accident joined the Parties, who fought with great Courage and Resolution. The Victory after much Blood inclined to the Master of *Crawford*. *Alexander Ogilvy* sore wounded, was taken and brought to the Castle of *Fishburne* where he died; the Lord *Huntly* escaped by the swiftness of his Horse. *John Forbes* of *Pierfishie*, *Alexander Barclay* of *Gartley*, *Robert Maxwell* of *Tealling*, *William Gordon* of *Borroisfield*, *Sir John Oliphant* of *Aberdarey*, with others fell on the *Ogilvy's* Side. They fought on the 24. of January 1445.

Now by attending Opportunities to increase publick Disorders, and the Times dangerous and troublesome, and confound the State, the Earl of *Douglas* kept himself in the absolute Government; by umbragious Ways he nourished Discontentments in all Parts of the Country, amongst the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of the Realm. *Alexander Earl of Crawford* put to Death *John Lynton* at *Dundee*; *Robert Boyd* of *Duchal*, and *Alexander Lytle* new *James Stewart* of *Auchenminnie*; *Patrick Hepburn* of *Hailes* surpris'd the Castle of *Dumbar*; *Archibald Dumbar*, as if he would but change Places with him, taketh the Castle of *Hailes*, where he was besieged by the Earl of *Douglas*, and with Conditions of Safety rendred it. *Sir William Creighton* all this Time kept the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and when neither by Intreaties nor Power he could be induced to render it to the King, his Castle of *Creighton* is plundered, a Garrison placed in it, and the Castle of *Edinburgh* by the Earl of *Douglas* is besieged and blocked up. Nine Month the Assailers lie about it: but it proveth impregnable, and without Loss of many Subjects



Subjects cannot be taken : About the End of which Time, Mens Courage waxing colder, Conditions are offered and received ; which were; That the Chancellor should be restored to Grace, Place, and whatsoever had been withheld from him by his Enemies at Court, an Abolition and Abrogation of all former Discontentments should be granted ; the Besieged should pass out Bag and Baggage free. At a Parliament holden at *Perth*, the Chancellor was purged by an Assize of his Peers, of what was laid against him, his Lands and Goods, seized upon by the King or *Dowglas*, are decreed to be restored, as well to his Followers as himself ; he is established in his Dignities and Places of Honour, notwithstanding all Edicts, Proclamations, and Confiscations before, which were declared null ; all Matters past put in Oblivion, as not done. This, considering the Credit of the Earl of *Dowglas*, was thought very strange ; but *James Kennedy* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, whose Respect and Authority was great with the Church-men, perfected this Master-piece of State ; and the Earl of *Dowglas* knew, tho' the Chancellor was unbound, he had not yet escaped.

During these Garboyls in *Scotland*, *Margaret* Sister to King *James*, and Wife to the *Dauphine* of *France*, *Lewis*, died at *Chalons* in *Champaign* ; a vertuous and worthy Lady, beloved of all *France*, but most of *Charles VII* her Father in Law, who for her Respect matched her three Sisters, who remained at his Court, honourably ; *Eleonora* with *Sigismund* Arch-duke of *Austria* ; *Elizabeth* with the Duke of *Bretaign*, and *Mary* with the Earl of *Camperve*. She was buried in the great Church of *Chalons*, but after when the *Dauphine* came to be King, he caused transport and bury her in the Abbey-Church of *Laon* in *Poictou*. Many Elegies were published upon her Death, which are yet extant. Sir *James Stewart* the *Black Knight*, Husband to the Queen, at this Time died also : He had turned a voluntary Exile, to shun the Dangers and Envy of the Factions of the Country, which he had incurr'd by his free Speeches against the Misgovernment and Miseries of the Time ; and, as he was bound towards *Flanders*, by the *Flemings* was taken upon the Seas. The Queen out-lived not long her Daughter and Husband ; she was buried the Fifteenth of *July* in the Charter-house of *Perth*, near her First Husband *K. James I.* in the Year 1446. She brought forth to the *Black Knight* of *Lorn* three Sons, *John* Earl of *Arthole*, *James* Earl of *Buchan*, *Andrew* Bishop of *Murray*.

The Chancellor having recovered his Honours and State, to the Disadvantage of the Earl of *Dowglas*, though of good Years, and tyred with the Troubles of a publick Life ; yet findeth not any desired Rest. A Marriage being designed for the King with *Mary*, Daughter of the Duke of *Guelders*, by the Instructions of *Charles VII.* the *French* King ; but secretly by the Procurement of the Earl of *Dowglas*, the Chancellor, as a Man grave, great in Place, and experimented, with the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and *Nicolas Otterburn*, is sent over the Seas in Embassy. This troublesome and unprofitable Honour abroad is laid upon him, that he might be separate from the King, and suspended from opposing the private Designs of the Earl at home. This Obstacle of his Ambition removed (which had neither Moderation nor Limits) the Earl may exclude such Officers in State or Court who were not agreeable to him, and substitute others of his Creation after his Pleasure ; he hath now Room and Opportunity for his greatest Designs. His Kindred are without pausing preferred to Offices of State, his Brethren to new Honours ; *Archbald* is made Earl of *Murray*, by the Marriage of a Lady of the House of *Dumbar*, who was Heir of the Lands, and the King's Ward : *George* is created Earl of *Ormond* ; *John* made Lord of *Balveny*, and hath his Donation ratified in an Assembly of the three Estates, who were convened at *Edinburgh* for Matters concerning the Marriage of the King, but in Effect that the Earl might pursue his old Enemies. The Commissioners are chosen after his Pleasure, are prepared, instructed, prelimited by him ; and to combine Power with Craft, he entrench in an offensive and defensive League with many Noblemen, Barons, and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. All the Wheels and Vices of his Clock being right set, *Alexander Livingston* late Governour, *Alexander* his eldest Son, *Robert Livingston* Treasurer, *David Livingston*, *James Dundas*, *Robert Bruce* of *Clackmannan*, Knights, for Peculate and converting the Prince's Treasure to their private Use, are forfeited, taken and committed to sundry Prisons in *December*, 1447. At which Time they were brought to *Edinburgh*. *Alexander* the Governour, *James Dundas* and *Robert Bruce*, after Fines laid upon them, were remitted back to *Dumbar*, there to be kept Prisoners, during the King's Pleasure. *Alexander* the Governour's Son, a young Man of great Expectation, with *Robert Livingston* Treasurer, and *David Livingston*, not so much for any Crime proved against them, as by the Divine Justice in punishing the Severity of the Governour, for the Execution of the Earl of *Dowglas* in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, had their Heads cut off ; the People much deploring their Misfortune. By this Blow the Earl of *Dowglas* thought he was more terribly avenged, than if he had proved his Power against the old Man ; having thus as it were killed him twice. Though by this strict Justice he pretended the Publick Well, his End was to govern all by his absolute Authority, and make the World see what Credit he had to Help or Harm when he pleased, admire his pompous Attendance, his haughty carrying of all Business, and his Power in State.

The Chancellor having perfected his Embassy, *Mary* Daughter to *Arnold* Duke of *Guelders*, born of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Sister, a Lady young, beautiful, and of a masculine Constitution,



on, arriveth in *Scotland*; and with great Solemnity, accompanied with many Strangers and the Nobility of the Kingdom, is married to the King in the Abbey Church of *Holy-rood-house*. As these Nuptial Rites were finished, the Peace between *Scotland* and *England* expired, and the Borders of both Kingdoms break, and mutually invade others. Amidst much Robbery, Spoil, and Havock upon either side, the Earl of *Salisbury*, Lieutenant and Warden, upon the West, depopulateth the Bordering Villages, and burneth the Town of *Dunfreis*; the Earl of *Northumberland* spoiling the East, burneth the Town *Dumbar*: *John Douglas* Lord of *Balveny*, invadeth the *English* Bounds, and burneth the Town of *Amwick*. The Ravaging and Depredations in a short time turning equal, the Two Kingdoms agree upon a Suspension of Arms, and Place and Day to treat about a general Peace: At the last by an Assembly of the States, 1449, a Truce is condescended unto for Seven Years. At this time *Alexander Seton*, Lord *Gordon*, is created Earl of *Huntly*, and *George Lesly* Baron, Earl of *Rothies*.

This Truce was not long kept by any of the Nations, but, as it had been drawn and plaistered up for the Fashion, they conspire equally to break it. New Incursions are made, slight Skirmishes began to wound either side and banish Peace, and just Arms were constrained at last to be opposed to injurious Oppressions. The *Scots* having made desolate some parts of *Cumberland*, an Army, under the leading of the Earl of *Northumberland* is raised, commanded by *Magnus Red-beard*, whom the *Scots*, by reason of the length of his Beard named *Magnus* with the red Mane: A Man trained from his Youth in the Wars of *France*, who is said to have required no more, for his Service to the Crown of *England*, than what he might by his own Valour Conquer of *Scotland*. The *English* march from the West Borders, pass the River of *Solway* and *Annand*, and encamp near the River of *Sark*. The Earl of *Douglas* declareth his Brother, *George* Earl of *Ormond*, Lieutenant for the King against them; who with the Power of the South and West loseth no Time to encounter: The Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Percy* his Son, *Magnus Red-beard*, Sir *John Pennington*, and Sir *Robert Harrington* led the *English* Battallions: The Earl of *Ormond*, Lord *Maxwel*, Lairds of *Johnston*, and *Craig Wallace*, the *Scottish*. Here Occasion and Place serving, is it valiantly fought, the Fortune of the Day being long doubtful, till *Magnus*, whose Experience and Direction in War in those Days was deemed unparallel'd, his Courage here turning into Temerity, was beaten from his Horse and slain. After his Fall, many turning their Backs, the Earl of *Northumberland* himself with great Danger escaped; more in the Chase were lost than in the Battel; such who essayed to pass the River, by the Confusion and the Weight of their Arms, were plunged in the Water; others who could not find the Fords, being taken, and brought to the Castle of *Lochmaben*; amongst which were Sir *John Pennington*, Sir *Robert Harrington*, and the Lord *Percy*, who by saving his Father engaged himself. Few renowned amongst the *Scots* were here lost, except *Craig Wallace*, a principal Actor, who governing himself by Honour and Courage, died of his Wounds there received, not many Days thereafter. The *English*, to repair their Loss, raised an Army, but by the daily Supplies raised for *France*, and their projected Civil Wars (the Duke of *York*, Earls of *March*, *Warwick* and *Salisbury* beginning to toss the State) it was kept at Home for their own use, and a Truce was agreed upon and concluded with *Scotland* for the space of Three Years, Anno 1450.

This Victory, obtained chiefly by the Valour of the *Douglases*, advanced highly their Credit with the young King, and the Court sounded with nothing more then their Praises. But great Fortunes are as hard to bear as to acquire, and ordinarily Prosperity carrieth us into Insolencies, without pondering the Consequence of our Actions. *William Colvil* Knight, upon a private Quarrel, having slain *James Auchinleck*, a Follower of the Earl of *Douglas*, the Earl revenged his Death, not only with the Slaughter of *William*, but with the Throwing down of his House, and Spoil of all his Lands, which turned cold the Affections of many about the Court towards him, and made him terrible to all of a contrary Faction to his. After this, whether tyred with his working Thoughts, or to shun more Hatred and Envy; or to try what Time would produce, amidst the inward Grudges and Rancours of Court, or that he held his own Country too narrow Lists for his Glory, he leaveth the Kingdom, substituting one of his Brother's Procurator for his Affairs, and in his Absence to govern his Estate, accompanied with his Brother Mr. *James* (a Man learned, and brought up in *Sorbon* Divinity) expectant of the Bishoprick of *Dunkeld*, *James Hamilton* of *Cadyow*, the Lords *Graham*, *Seton*, *Oliphant*, *Salton*, and many Gentlemen, he arriveth in *Flanders*, cometh to *France*, passeth the *Alps*, and, it being the Year of Jubilee, stayeth at *Rome*: Where he was honourably received and welcomed. Envy never leaveth great Actors; he had not been long absent from his Prince, when many are suborned to give up Complaints against the Oppressions, Riots, and Wrongs of his Kindred, Servants and Vassals. The Faults of his governing the King are pryed into; every Oversight and Escape aggravated to the Height. The King at first was loth to lend an Ear to Misreports and Calumnies of a Man lately so well deserving and dearly of him beloved: But overcome by Importunity, and urged by the Numbers of Complainers, he gave Way, that his Brother and Procurators should make Answer for Wrongs suffered by the Complainers. After many Citations, his Brother not appearing, is at last by Force presented to the Council; when he could not answer to such Faults as were laid



laid against the Earl's Vassals and Followers, nor acquit them of violent Oppressions, he was only enjoined to restore to the Complainers their Loss, and make up all Damages. Upon fair Promises of Restitution, the King bringeth him off the Danger, and obtaineth him Liberty to return Home.

There, after long Advise ment with his other Brothers and some haughty Vassals, They declare old Rapines and Wrongs being joyned to new and recent, with which they were charged, the Restitution was impossible, and like spilt Water which could not be recovered. Not satisfied with his Answer, the Council cited the Earl of *Dowglas* upon some Days to appear before them, and all his Vassals and Followers with his Brothers, to answer according to Law, to such Articles as should be given in against them. The Earl was far off, and they considered it consisted not with their Well to hazard their Persons to the Arbitrement of Judges, many of which had been obnoxious to their Affronts. Thus, for not appearing, they are denounced Rebels, and Warrants granted to invade and spoil their Lands, as publick Enemies to Authority and the present Government. This Decree is followed by open Force; and to facilitate the Execution of it, and to take up the Earl of *Dowglas's* Rents, *William* Earl of *Orkney* cometh to *Galloway*, *Dowglasdale* and *Liddesdale*: But he found Authority, not seconded with Power, against lusty Rebels, to produce weak Effects: For he returned disobeyed, and near spoiled and rifled by the Earl's Tenants and Vassals.

The King, to vindicate his Authority, since he could not prevail by Reason, with competent Forces in Person entrench the same Territories, taketh all the strong Fortresses and Castles where he came, demolisheth the Castle of *Dowglas*, placeth a Garrison in *Lochmaben*, giveth the Custody of such Places as he spared, with the whole Goods and Moveables appertaining to them, to the Complainers and Men interested in Wrongs or Blood, by the Rebels. The Noise of this unexpected Back-blow being heard at *Rome*, perplexed not a little the Earl of *Dowglas*: Many of his Train leave him; that, where lately he represented a Prince, he seemed now scarce a private Gentleman; he was assured he lived under a Sovereign, who maugre all Detractions would bear his own Defences. Upon which Hopes, he resolveth to return, and taketh him to his Journey: And for his greater Haste and safe Progress, he obtaineth a Pass through *England*, and cometh to the Borders of *Scotland*. His Brother *James* is directed to the Court, to understand the King's Mind towards him; and if there were any Possibility, in this Ebb of Favours, to have Access to him.

The King ingenuously promiseth to accept him, and performed it for all that happened by the Misdemeanour of his Friends in his Absence, requesting that he would but live peaceably according to the Order of the State, without hating that which his Prince loved, or disproving that which he approved and authorized; and that, as himself and his Brothers were ever the most able and readiest to repel the Wrongs of Strangers, so they would endeavour to entertain Unity and Concord in the Country itself, and purge their Lands of Thieves and Robbers; if mischievous and wicked Men were not punished, there would be no Surety nor Safety for the Good and Vertuous. Past Wrongs are pardoned, the Garrisons removed from his Castles, and they are rendered unto him. Then, to put him in Assurance of increasing Favours, he is made Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, a Place great, and requiring great Action, being only to be bestowed upon a Man active, great in Power and Friends.

The Earl of *Dowglas* again afloat in the Stream of his Sovereign's Favours, might have continued, if his Miseries had not been decreed from above: Soon after he falls in a new Disgrace; whether upon a Promise of Return, or that he was sent for, or that he would officiously give Thanks for received Courtesies, when he was in his Way homewards, he passeth privately to the Court of *England*, and without his Master's Knowledge or Leave, hath many Days serious Conference with the Nobility of that Kingdom, then many ways distressed by the Rebellion of *Kent*, and the Factions of the Great Men. The pretended Cause of his Journey was given out to be, the repairing of his own and his Vassals Losses, sustained by the Inroads of the *English*, the Time of his Travels abroad, and the redressing of other Disorders on the West-borders. But his Enemies suggested, he intended to enter into a League with some of the *English* to the Disadvantage of his Master, and Trouble of his Country, by changing the Form of Government, or the Officers of State. King *James* took this Meeting with the *English* in an evil Part; but, after great Intercession and many Requests of the Queen and Noblemen, after he had submitted himself to his Clemency, and acknowledged his Error, received him. In the mean Time, he is discharged of all publick Employments, his Offices of State are divided between the Earl of *Orkney* and the Lord *Creighton* his reconciled Enemies.

Removed from publick Employments, he giveth himself to study private Revenge, and the whole secret Council turn distasteful unto him; especially *Orkney* and *Creighton*, Men perfectly abhorring his Ambition, and who greatly feared his unmeasurable Greatness.

Their suspected Affronts and alledged Wrongs towards him were increased daily by Tales of Sycophants. It was told the Earl, that the Lord *Creighton*, in a Conference with the King, had said, "It were expedient for the Peace of the Country, that the Earl of *Dowglas* with all his Friends



“ and Followers were rooted out, and their Memory abolished ; but if that were left undone,  
 “ neither should the King rule in due Majesty, nor the Subjects ever give him that Obedience  
 “ which they ought. That wise Princes suffered Houses to grow as Men do Spider-webs, not  
 “ taking heed of them so long as they were small, but when they were offensively increased,  
 “ they swept them wholly away. Irritated by these and many such like Speeches, after much  
 Contempt of the Chancellor, one Dawning, as he was early coming from *Edinburgh* to his  
 Castle of *Creighton*, the Earl who wanted not his own Intelligence amongst his Followers  
 (Hatred being an evil Counsellor) laid an Ambush for him on the High way. But the Clear-  
 ness of the Morning discovering it, by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe he eſcapeth, ſome of his  
 Company being wounded, and one of the Affailers ſlain in the Purſuit. A few Days after,  
 the Chancellor, to repair his Credit, accompanied with a Number of his Friends and Followers,  
 coming in great haſte to *Edinburgh*, had unawares ſurprized the Earl of *Dowglas*, then attended  
 but with a ſmall Number of his Friends, if he had not ſpeedily ſhifted himſelf from the Dan-  
 ger. This Contention, now burſting forth into open Hoſtility, divided into Factions the whole  
 Kingdom ; The Earl of *Dowglas* maintaining his, by the long continued Grandeur of his  
 Houſe ; the Chancellor ſtanding by his Prince's Favour, and a long Practice of the Affairs and  
 Courſe of the World. The Earl fearing the Authority of the King might ſway the Ballance and  
 make the Party unequal, if he ſhould be brought to call to Remembrance paſt Actions and  
 Attempts of his Predeceſſors, finding nothing more expedient to curb his Enemies, and ſtrengthen  
 his Proceedings, then to renew his old Confederation, and combine with him many others.  
 Hereupon the Earls of *Crawford*, *Rosſ*, *Murray*, *Ormond*, the Lord *Balveny*, Knight of *Cadyow*,  
 many Barons, and Gentlemen, with their Allies, Vaſſals, and Servants, to a great Number, ſub-  
 ſcribed and ſwore ſolemnly, *Never to deſert one another during Life ; That Injuries done to any*  
*one of them, ſhould be done to them all, and be a common Quarrel ; neither ſhould they deſiſt to*  
*their beſt Abilities to revenge them : That they ſhould concur indifferently againſt whatſoever Perſons*  
*within or without the Realm, and ſpend their Lives, Lands, Goods and Fortunes in Defence of their*  
*Debates and Differences whatſoever.* This Confederation and Covenant again renewed, turned  
 the Earl imperious in his Deportments, preſumptuous beyond all Limits, and his Followers  
 and Adherents inſupportable to their Neighbours : The Lands of ſuch who were not of their  
 Party, or reſuſed to think all their Thoughts, and ſecond them in their Enterprizes, were  
 plundered ; and Goodneſs was a Cauſe to make Men ſuffer moſt Pillage and Ranſacking of  
 their Goods, and other miſerable Calamities. At this Time the Thieves and Robbers of  
*Liddeſdale* and *Annandale* break into the Lands of *John Lord Herriſ*, a Nobleman, who had  
 continued conſtantly faithful to the King, and drive with them a great Booty of Cattel. Com-  
 plaints being given to the Earl of *Dowglas* of the Depredations of his Men, and finding no Re-  
 dreſs, the Lord *Herriſ* eſſayeth to drive the like Prey in Recompence of the Dammage ; but being  
 unequal in Power, his Miſfortune was to be taken by the Thieves, and brought as Priſoner  
 to the Earl, who laid him faſt in Irons ; and notwithstanding the King's Letters ( full of In-  
 treaties and Threatnings ) without any Formality of Law, cauſed hang him as a Felon. The  
 like Miſchief was practiſed in other Places. After this Contempt of Sovereignty, it was uni-  
 verſally blazed, that the Earl of *Dowglas*, in reſpect of this new Covenant, the Power of his  
 Kiſmen and Allies, the entertaining of ſuch who were diſcontent and diſcountenanc'd at Court,  
 the Love and Favour of the Men of Arms in *Scotland* ( ever governed by ſome of his Name ) his  
 Riches, the Honour of his Anceſtors, had reſolved to diſſemble no longer, but openly to play  
 his Game, and eſſay one Day, if he could ſet the Crown upon his own Head, being then able to  
 raiſe an Army of Fourty Thouſand warlike Perſons, Men ready to go with him, whither or a-  
 gainſt whom they cared not, attending only the Occaſion, and his Commandment.

The King, who before but diſdained the Pride, after this League became jealous of the Earl of  
*Dowglas* ( a League giving a Law to a King, breaking all Bonds of Sovereignty, and inviting a  
 People to look for a new Maſter ) and tho' his Modeſty and Patience ſerved only to turn the Earl  
 more inſolent, and his Boldneſs more Active ; yet in a ſoul Game he bare a fair Countenance ;  
 knowing the laſt Thing which a Sovereign Prince ſhould do, is to ſhow himſelf male-content  
 and offended with any of his Subjects ; for inſtead of chaſtiſing him, he would give him fairer  
 Means and greater Power to do him Harm : He would not ſhew a Token of any prejudicial  
 Thought to the Earl's Proceedings till he had firſt heard himſelf.

Thus very calmly he deſired him to come, and ſpeak with him at *Stirling*, which ( he conſci-  
 ous of his own Miſdeemeanour ) except upon a publick Assurance under the great Seal for his ſafe  
 coming and return, reſuſed to do : A ſafe Conduſt being obtained about the Shrove-Tide, in  
 the Year 1452. he came to the Court then remaining at *Stirling* Caſtle, accompanied with many of  
 his Confederates, and a powerful Retinue. The King with a gracious Countenance, and all ap-  
 parent Reſpect received him, endeavouring rather by Kindneſs and Humanity, than by Rigour to  
 reclaim him to his former Obedience. The Day near ſpent, the Gates of the Caſtle ſhut, all re-  
 moved, except ſome of the Council and the Guards ; the King taking the Earl friendly apart, re-  
 membred him of Favours received, Wrongs forgotten, the Duties, as a Subject, he owed to his  
 Prince,



Prince, his Capitulation before he would come and speak with him; he taxed him with the exorbitant Abuses and Outrages of his Followers: Then he told him, "What Informations he had of a Covenant of mutual Defence and Adherence betwixt him and some of his Nobles and Gentlemen; which he would scarce believe: He prayed him to consider the Murruring, or rather begun Sedition of his People, his long Patience in tolerating his Proceedings, his Misbelief of evil Reports towards him, until he had heard what he had to say for himself and his Innocency.

The Earl answered the King's Towardness in equal Terms, trusting much to his Confederation; "For his Favours, he should strive with all Obsequiousness to deserve them; That, as he had the Honour to Command others who obeyed him, he knew very well how to be Commanded, and Obey his Prince, and in what Disobedience consisted: That, as none of his Subjects enjoyed more Lands and Honours than himself, there should not one be found who more willingly would engage all his Fortunes, and Person for the Honour of his Prince: That they who laid Snares for his life being so near his Majesty, for the Surety of his Person he could not come to Court, except upon a publick Assurance, and well accompanied: For the Wrongs committed by his Followers and Vassals, he would give what Satisfaction should be required; Concerning the Band of mutual Friendship betwixt him and some Noblemen, they would have adhered together without any writing; they were driven thereunto for their own Safety, not out of mind to offer, but repel Injuries: That he was infinitely oblig'd to his Goodness, in not condemning him before he was heard, and for that he had not lent a credulous Ear to his Enemies mischievous Devices.

The King replied, "Effects, and not Words, make the Affection and Submission of a Subject known; and could there be any greater Surety for him, than to rely on the Laws of the Commonwealth and Country? Especially (*continued he*) in a Country where Laws, and not Faction rule, and where a Man's own Goodness is able to Preserve him: But such Men as you are, raise these Factions, to the Subversion of all Laws and Authority: And for Subjects to make an Offensive and Defensive League against all Persons, is to disclaim all Government, and do what they please without Controlment; commit Treason in the highest Degree, and make your own Swords and Power justify your Proceedings, which, though ye first use against mean Persons, and conceal the Progress of your Actions (for there are Degrees in Evil; and Wicked Men begin at that which seemeth the least of Evils, or not an Evil at all at the first,) your last Aim is likely to be the robbing upon the Crown. Consider (my Lord) ye are born under a Monarchy, which admitteth no Sovereignty but it self, and it is natural to Princes to hold it in highest Esteem, and in no Case to suffer it to be shaken by their Subjects. Take your Prince for your best Protection, and an Innocent Life: Renounce that Union and League with your Peers, which unless commanded, or approved, or permitted by your Prince, subsisteth not in Law nor in Reason, being forbidden under great Pains. And let it not be heard any longer, that ever such an unjust Confederation was, and so wonted Clemency shall be preferred before Deserved Justice.

The Earl replied, "The League being drawn up by the common Consent of many Lords, Barons and Gentlemen, and subscribed, it could not be cancell'd nor renounc'd, but by their common Consent; nor was it profitable for the King, nor to him otherwise to have it done; that being together, they might condescend to the renouncing and cancelling of it. But (*says the King*) you, to show good Example to the rest, shall first begin; Neither (living) shall any Traytor in my Presence disavow and disclaim my Authority, in what is within my Possibility of accomplishing. The Earl requests him to remember, "He came to Court upon a publick Assurance. A publick Assurance cannot so warrant any Man, but that he may fall by his own private Misdemeanor, *answered the King*. Withal, considering a mean Courage in a King to be an Imputation, and that he did neither Wrong towards God nor his Fame, in revenging himself upon the Enemies of the State; The place, a strong Castle; his present Power, all within being his Councillors and Servants; the Danger if he should escape; the easiness of suppressing the Rebellion, the Head taken away: The Earl continuing hot and stubborn, in debating his Points of the League, Wrath banishing other Doubts and Interests, his Dagger performed, what armed Justice scarce dared attempt: The King's Blow (the Noise arising) was seconded by a Number of his Servants, who rushing in the Room left him dead, upon the Eve of *Sbrove-Tuesday*, the 22. of February, 1452.

About the last Scene of this Tragedy, a Pair of Spurs between two Platters (an Emblem of speedy Flight) as a Part of the King's Banquet, is directed to Sir James Hamilton of Cadyow; This he communicateth to the Lords and Gentlemen of the Union, in which time the News of the Earl's Death is spread abroad. The Leaguers finding themselves weak to carry so strong a Place as the Castle, in hot Blood set on fire divers Quarters of the Town of *Stirling*, make Proclamation against the King and his Council, for violating the Assurance granted to the Earl: Infamous Libels are spread every where, and the safe Conduct of the King and his Council bound to a wooden Truncheon at a Horse's Tail is dragg'd alongst the Streets: In the Market-

place



place, by the Mouth of a Cryer, to the Sound of all their Hunting-horns, they declare the King, and those that abode with him, Faith-breakers, perjured Persons, Enemies to all Goodness and good Men. *James* the next Brother of the House of *Douglas* (a Church-Man) being proclaimed Earl, in Rage and Madness, committing all sorts of Hostility, they overrun the Lands and Possessions of those whom they suspected would side with the King, and not prove of their Party: *John* Lord of *Dalkeith* their Kinsman, and of the Name of *Douglas*, they besiege in his Castle of *Dalkeith*, for that he hated their Proceedings; the Tenants and Vassals of the Earl of *Angus* are plundered for the same Cause: The Strength of the Place raised the Siege of *Dalkeith*; and the Earl of *Angus*, by their many Wrongs and Insolencies, remained more constant to the King.

In this Time the King writeth to all the good Towns of the Realm and Church-men, giving Reasons for the taking away the Earl, imputing the Fault to the Earl himself, exhorting the People to make no stir for the just Execution of a Man born for the Ruin of the Kingdom, and who voluntarily had precipitated himself into his own Mis-hap; offering all his Power to keep the Country in Quietness, according to that Authority in which God had placed him. This Blow, as particular Interests made the Hearts of Men incline, and as Passions were various, was variously and in several Manners taken: Some without inquiring of Circumstances, after what Fashion or Occasion soever done, allowing it, thought the King had more clear and evident Inducements for his Deed, than could fall within the Labyrinths of Reasoning. The Majesty of a Prince, hardly falleth from a Height to a Midst, but easily is precipitated from any Midst, to the lowest Degree and Station: The King (said they) hath obviated this Fall, hath set afoot again and raised his Authority threatened with Ruin; he hath vindicated his Liberty almost thrall'd, hath assured the Lives, Honours, and Estates of many loyal Subjects, which were endangered by not adhering to the League of the Earl, and keeping their Oath of Allegiance to the King: He (if he please) now with Honour and Reputation may hold his Parliaments, bring to pass his Designs for the Conservation of his Authority, and the Peace of his Subjects. Others blamed this Deed every where, and in every Circumstance; laying Perjury and Murder against him, and the breaking of the publick Faith and Assurance, the common Bond of humane Society, the common Defence of all, and the Ground of Justice.

To which it was Answered, That the Earl was not taken away for his past Demerits and Misdeservings, but for what he had recently committed in the King's own Presence, having spoken to him with an insupportable Irreverence; they which have safe Conduct, being obliged to shun all kind of Offence towards him who gives it them, any Enormity being sufficient to annul the Benefit of it.

More, for the Breach of Faith, the Earl and his Confederates were the more perjured, and he the Murderer of himself; they having violated that natural Oath to their King, which all Subjects owe to their Sovereigns, by drawing up a League among his People, to the breaking of the Ties of Sovereignty; giving, by this, Occasion and just Cause to the King to reward them after their Demerits. Most said the killing of the Earl was Evil, but that it was a necessary Evil. That as Nature suffereth not two Suns, so Reason of State suffereth not that in one Kingdom there be two Kings, but that of necessity the one must overthrow the other; and Matters going thus, he who giveth the first Blow hath the Advantage. Thus did Men judge diversly, after their proper Interests, of the Deeds of others.

The Torrent of these Disorders increasing, Laws are neglected, Towns, Villages, Houses, the High-ways are everywhere afflicted with Rapine, Fire and Fury, and save needy Boldness nothing is safe and secure in any Place.

The changing Multitude (like Mad-men limning Portraits with their own Blood) delight in their Proceedings and daily increase the Number of the Rebels. In this Insurrection the King is reduced to many Extremities, and is said to have thought upon an Escape by Sea to *France*, if he had not been diverted by *James Kennedy*, Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, who told him, "That to leave the Kingdom was to give all over to the Insolency of his Rebels, and for fear of burning, to leap into the Fire it self: That besides the high and long continued Title of a King, which the best part of his Subjects yet revered, he had sufficient Friends and Warlike Men, who appearing in the Field with him, would raise a just Fear in the Hearts of those who so hainously dared disobey him; That God would be present to Revenge wronged Majesty, and turn their Hopes in Despair; That the Common People were ever changing and a little time would make them flow to these from whom they did ebb; and all would return again, except such as were guilty of other Offences, or such whose Poverty made them fear a beggerly Peace as their greatest Punishment; That his chiefest and principal City stood good for him, which Example the other Towns would undoubtedly follow; That Rebellion was like Thunder, the Noise of which (if observed duly) was often more terrible than the Blow, and dissolved ordinarily in Tears of Repentance and fair Weather: That here the Prudence of a Prince manifesteth it self, when he cannot suppress and stop all the

Evils



Evils in his State, to suffer and tolerate the least, and with Leisure and Time abolish and extirpate the greater, and make Virtue of Rebellion.

The King, by the Bishop's Counsel and Assistance, gathereth an Army, but will not try the Hazard of a Battel, before those he had advertised and sent for, should join with these already about him, and his Forces from all the Quarters of the Kingdom be united. In the North, the Earl of *Huntly* had raised a goodly Company to come to his Aid, but the Earl of *Crawford*, a Confederate of the Earl of *Douglas*, with a Power of the Men of *Arms*, and all who would follow him, guided by some French Commanders, essayed to cut off his Passage, and encountereth him at *Brechin*. The Battel is fought, and the Victory inclined where the King's Standard was displayed by the Earl of *Huntly*. The Equity of the Cause laid aside, the Occasion of this Victory was ascribed to *John Colofs of Bonnymoon*, who having one of the Wings of the Army to guide, which consisted of Battle-Axes, great Swords, and long Spears, and the best invasive Weapons, in the hottest of the Skirmish, gave Ground, and left the middle Ward naked upon his Side: The Reason of his Revolt is reported, that the Night before the Battel, when every Man was resolving with his Affairs of the World, *Bonnymoon* requested the Earl of *Crawford*, of whom he held his Lands Ward, and Relief, since the next Day he was resolved either to be victorious or die in the Field, to subscribe a Precept (himself falling) for entring his Son to his Lands. This the Superior refusing, the Vassal out of a just Indignation, when he should have charged, retired, and his Company with him. Such Thoughts possessed not the Earl of *Huntly's* Mind; he dealt not so sparingly with his Friends in Hope of their good Service: To the *Forbeses*, *Ogilvies*, *Leslies*, *Grants*, *Irvings*, he freely gave many of his own Lands, which raised their Courage to the Height. In Requital of which, the King after bestowed upon him the Lands of *Badenach* and *Lochaber*. In the Conflict the Earl of *Huntly* lost Two Brothers; the Earl of *Crawford* (Sir *John Lindsay* his Brother being left on the Field) fled to his House of *Finhaven*, where he was heard to say, He would be content to remain Seven Years in Hell, to have in so timely a Season done the King his Master that Service the Earl of *Huntly* had performed, and carry that Applause and Thanks he was to receive from him. This Conflict happened upon the Ascension Day, the 18 Day of May, 1451.

The King by the Confluence and Resort of many worthy Subjects unto him, having Time to breath, and finding himself in a Calm, keepeth a Convention of the States at *Edinburgh*. Here the Earls of *Douglas*, *Crawford*, *Ormond*, *Murray*, the Lord *Balvemy*, Sir *James Hamilton*, and others, are cited to answer according to Law. They, instead of appearing, in the Night, upon the Doors of the principal Churches, and other Places eminent, fix many Placards and Libels, signed with their Hands; which bear, the Earl of *Douglas*, nor his Followers will never obey Command nor Charge in Time coming, nor answer Citation; for that the King is not a just Master, but a Blood-sucker, a Murderer, a Transgressor of Hospitality, a Surpriser of the Innocent, and such who deserved no Harm at his Hands. Not long after the King levied an Army, which by the approaching Winter did little Service; and the Earl of *Douglas*, to save the Lands of *Beatrix* his Brother's Widow, unseparated from their House, sought by a Dispensation from the Pope to have her in Marriage, alledging her untouched of his Brother; which being refused him, he kept her in Place of his Wife (the Effect of his *Sorbon* Divinity) and found hereby more Briars than Roses.

The Earl of *Crawford* placing Two Firths of Seas betwixt him and the King, spoileth the Lands of all those who forsook him at *Brechin*, and *Archbald* Earl of *Murray* burneth the Pile of *Strath-Bogy*, pertaining to the Earl of *Huntly*. In revenge of which, the Earl of *Huntly* burneth and herried all the Lands of the Earl of *Murray* beyond the *Spey*: The King too, in this Madness of Mankind, defaceth his own Country, pulling down the Houses of his Rebel-Subjects, and wasting *Annandale*. This Ravage and mutual Overturning of all, having continued almost Two whole Years, the Faction of the Earl, far inferior to the King's, now weakened with such lasting Incursions, sundry of the chief Men and Heads considering the least Faults were the best; "That it was better to strike Sail in Time, than make a full Shipwrack of their Persons, Honours, and the Weal of the Kingdom and State; counsel the Earl, That Fervours growing colder, since it could not be undone which was done, he would not set greater Work on foot, but proceeding with Conveniency, submit himself friendly to the King, who had as much Goodness as Generosity, and sought and required nothing of his Subjects but Obedience: And having now proved how difficult it was to overcome them by Arms, was (perhaps) as much tired as they, and would Pardon these Faults which he could not otherwise amend; Necessity in Affairs of Princes, constraining them to yield to many Things in Government against their first Conclusions, and resolve to grant that which they could not well hinder: That there were many Hours in the Day, and the Hearts of Princes were subject to change in them: That he should not forsake the publick Weal of the Kingdom for his private Considerations: That after this Trouble of State, he might be more esteemed and sought after by the King, as it is ordinarily practised among Princes and great Men, who affect only that which is necessary unto them.



To these the Earl answered, "That they had went too far forwards to think upon any cowardly Retreat and coming back again; That the only Virtue under a Tyrant, was to die constantly; That other Virtues did fight, but Constancy alone triumphed; That for himself, he would never trust his Life to the Mercy of those who, under colour of Friendship and Banqueting, had first made away his Two Kinsmen, and after his own Brother; for if they being Innocent, werethus handled, what might he expect who had been the Occasion of such Distraction in the State? He that had once broken his Faith, except by a Surety, is unable again (in Law) to contract and enter in Bond with any, Who will be Surety between a King and his Subjects? That Treaties, Agreements, Covenants, and Bargains of a Prince with rebellious Subjects, engage him no further, no longer then the Term-time or Day which pleaseth him to accept, observe and keep them, as they turn or may turn to his Utility and Advantage: That as in Nature there is no Regress found from Privation to an Habit, so neither in State, Men once disgraced do return to their former Honours; That Princes mortally hated all Subjects who had either attempted to over-rule them by Power, or had cast any Terror upon them; and howsoever by Constraint they bear Sail for a Time, in the End they were fore Pay-Masters: That there was nothing more contrary to a good Agreement, than to appear to be too earnest and busy to seek to obtain it; he would sue for none: That all his Days he had loved Sincerity, Constancy and Fidelity, and could not unsay and recant what he had promised and practised, nor do against his Heart: His Friends and his own Standing was by their Swords, which should either advance their Enterprizes, and turn them Victors, or they would die honourably like themselves and Men, and not ignobly be murdered like Beasts."

This free and dangerous Resolution of the Earl moved many who heard it, to provide for their own Safety, and resolve not to suffer longer Misery for other Men's Folly, finding this War was not like to have any End, and that Danger and Death would be the only Reward of their Rebellion. Amongst others, the Earl of *Crawford*, after great Adversity, when he could not move the Earl of *Dowglas* to submit himself to the King's Clemency, with many Tears and Protestations of his sincere Love and Counsel to him, left him; and some Weeks, as the King was in Progress in *Angus*, in a sad penitential Manner, accompanied with his best Friends, coming in his Way, with much Humility and Sorrow he acknowledged his Fault, pleading rather for Pity to his House, which had so long flourished, than to his Person. The King knowing his Example would be no small Occasion to weaken the Power of the Earl of *Dowglas*, and that of all the Rebels he was the greatest Object of his Clemency, was content to receive him; but he would have it done by the Mediation of *James Kennedy*, Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and the Lord *Creighton*, once his greatest Enemies, which he refused not to embrace. Thus freely remitted, with those who accompanied him, he returned to his own House of *Finhaven*, where within few Months he died of a burning Ague.

The three Estates, after assembled at *Edinburgh*, where *James Earl of Dowglas*, the Countess *Beatrix*, whom he kept by way of a pretended Marriage, *Archibald Dowglas Earl of Murray*, *George Earl of Ormond*, *John Dowglas Lord of Balveny*, with others their Adherents, Friends and Followers, are attainted of High Treason, and their Lands and Goods are confiscate and decreed to be seized on to the King's Use. The Earldom of *Murray* is given to *James Creighton*, who had married the eldest Daughter of the Earl of *Murray*; but he perceiving he could not possess it in Peace, returned it back again to the King. At this Time *George Creighton* was created Earl of *Caitness*, *William Hay* Constable Earl of *Errol*, *Darnly*, *Hailes*, *Boyd*, *Lyle* and *Lorn*, Lords of Parliament; the King maketh a Road into *Galloway*, reducing every strong Hold and Castle of the Country to his Power; *Dowglasdale* he abandoned to the Spoil of the Soldiers.

Matters at home turning desperate, the Earl of *Dowglas* being brought to that Pass, that he knew not what to wish or fear, *James Hamilton* of *Cadyow* is sent to *England* to invite the ancient Enemy of the Kingdom to take a Part of her Spoil, and Help to Trouble the King: But the *English* had greater Business amongst themselves than could permit them to espouse the Quarrel of the Earl. After Sir *James Hamilton* was returned with an Excuse, and Regret that some of the *English* Lords could not supply their Confusion, but only by their Counsel, he advised the Earl of *Dowglas* to trust to his own Power and Forces, which were sufficient, measuring their Courage, and not counting their Heads, to hold good against the King. There was no humane Affair where Men were not necessitated to run some Danger, nor any Business taken in Hand with such a Certainty, which by unknown Causes, and even light ones, might not run a Hazard of some Mis-hap; that he should study to embrace and accept of what was most honourable and least dangerous: It was better once to try the worst than ever to be in Fear of it: It was fit for him to commit something to Fortune, and Wisdom could counsel nothing, but to shun the greatest Evil. This lingering War would not only tire, but overcome and vanquish them, when one fair Day of Battel, either by Death or Victory would crown their Desires. Others advised him not to hazard upon a Battel, except upon seen and approved Advantage, and to time it out a while: In this lingering War a Truce might be agreed upon, which ere long might turn to a Peace, in which every thing past might be forgotten and pardoned; That

Wars



Wars were managed more by Occasions and Times than by Arms: That the King could not be now but tired, since he had learned, that by essaying by Arms to overcome them, he had gained nothing but trained up his Subjects, whom he called Rebels, in all warlike Discipline, and had his Country spoiled, and the Policy defaced: Should they once enter in Blood, all Hopes were gone of any Conditions of Peace.

At this Time the King besieging the Castle of *Abercorn*; to relieve the Besieged, hither marcheth with all his Forces the Earl of *Douglas*. Being come within View of the King's Army, he observeth their March slow, the Countenances of his Soldiers altered, much whispering, and their Spirits in a Manner dejected. Countrymen were to fight against Countrymen, Friends against Friends, and all against their Prince. Interpreting this rather to proceed from their Weariness, than Want of good Will to enter the Lists, as well to refresh and cherish them to be more prompt and lusty of Courage the next Morning, as to take Counsel what Course to follow, and how to dispose of their Game, he stayeth that Afternoon and pitcheth his Tents. To Men unfortunate every thing turneth an Enemy. Whether Sir *James Hamilton* gave Way to this, or not, is uncertain: But after, it is said, that in a Chase he told the Earl, "He had neglected the Opportunity of Fight, and should never see so fair a Day again, in which he might have hazarded one Cast of a Dye for a whole Kingdom. But his Fortune was now declined, and (perhaps) would never stand upright; that by giving that Night to his Soldiers to pause and deliberate on the Matter, they would (perchance) take the safest Way, be more advised what to enterprize the next Morning, readily not fight at all, consisting of a Number of bold young Gentlemen, Volunteers, who for the most part out of Bravery and Compassion followed him; That the King's Army, by his lingering and lying off, was encouraged, finding they were to cope with Men who would advise ere they fought. After which Speeches he bade the Earl farewell: And now knowing that the Way lay open both for Pardon and Favour to him that would first seek it, he in the Night breaketh out with some Friends, and having got over the Field betwixt the Two Camps, was brought safely to the King, who graciously received, and freely pardoned him. The Army having understood the clandestine Revolt and Escape of Sir *James Hamilton*, disbanded, every Man slipping away by secret Passages to his own Habitation, that on the Morrow there was nothing to be seen but the solitary Field upon which they had encamped. The King out of Joy of this bloodless Victory, caused proclaim in all his chief Towns, "That since Sovereign Authority had no less Splendor by the Actions of Clemency, than by these of Justice, all those who had followed the Earl of *Douglas*, and been of his Party, rather by Misfortune and unadvised Rashness, than any evil Will against him, should be freely pardoned: Those who would abandon the Earl, and come to the King's Camp, whosoever they were, no Justice, no Law, should trouble them, but they should be received to Mercy, and have all Pardon. After this Proclamation, many submitted themselves to the King and were pardoned; tho' Sir *James Hamilton* was remitted, yet that under Colour of Reconciliation worst Mischief might not be plotted, the King sent him, with the Earl of *Orkney*, to the Castle of *Roslin* during his Pleasure, and the taking in of the Castle of *Abercorn*; remembering also it was some Prejudice to a Prince to be obliged to any Rebel.

The Earl of *Douglas* gathering together the split Pieces of his Shipwrack, with his Brothers, and so many of his Confederates as would not forsake him, flieth to *England*. Here with much Travel, by many Promises of Rewards, great Hopes of Spoil, gathering unto him a Power of Outlaws, Felons, Bankrupts, and such as lived by Rapine, as well of his own Nation, as of the *English*, he maketh an Inroad upon the West Borders of *Scotland*; some Villages being burnt, many Preys, and much Spoil driven into *England*: At last he meeteth with the valiant Men who were appointed to defend the Marches, the *Maxwells* and *Scots*. Here in a furious Skirmish his Companies are discomfited, *Archbald* Earl of *Murray* his Brother is slain, and his Head sent to the King; the Earl of *Ormond* is taken Prisoner; himself with the Lord *Balveny* with great Difficulty escapeth into a Forrest. When he sought to return again into *England*, he findeth all Passages stopped up, the Ways laid for him, and beginning to feel much Want, he is constrained in a disguised Habit to lurk meanly in the inmost Parts of *Scotland*, till he wandered toward the far High-lands, where finding *Donald* Earl of *Ross*, Lord of the *Isles*, one of his League, a Man cruel, arrogant, and unpolisht; after many Discourses and long Conference with him (being no less eloquent than active) he possesseth him with great Hopes (after a Division of the Kingdom between them two) of an absolute Power and Government of all the High-lands, besides the Wealth and Treasure which he would purchase by the Spoil: He requireth only he would break in upon the more civil Countries, bring all the Fire-brands he could, to kindle and trouble them, and cut Work for the King, whilst he with new Supplies, and a great Army to be raised in *England*, should invade the *Marches* and bordering Countries. The Earl of *Ross*, who thought nothing impossible to him (being to himself in these barbarous Parts by Phantasy a King) and was used to vaunt of a long Pedigree from *Fergus*, relisheth the Profit and Possibility of this Enterprize, sweareth to leave nothing undone for the accomplishing of it; and parting with him upon mutual Assurance, intreateth only Celerity and swift Performance of what they had concluded.



Scarce was the Earl of *Dowglas* in *England*, when the Earl of *Ross*, the Two Pillars of his Designs being Injustice and Violence, supported by fair Hopes from the South with his wild Mountainers and Islanders (like an Inundation) over-runne the Neighbour Bounds. *Argile* suffereth the first Effects of their Fury; the Isle of *Arran* is taken, and the Castle made a Bonfire (as if they were the Sacrifice for the Sins of the rest) the Bishop of the Isles saveth himself by Flight, and taketh Sanctuary; *Lochaber* and *Murray-land* are spoiled, the Town of *Inverness* is set on Fire, the Castle surpris'd, Murders, Ravishings, Robberies, with what Intolency the barbarous Canibals could commit, are every where, and the sad Image of Death ravageth amongst the common People. The Earl of *Dowglas* now at his last Shifts and Efforts, leaveth no Means nor Helps unsought out: Such who lived upon Prey and Spoil resort unto him; he maketh hot Incurfions, and after a most hostile Manner, which purchased him the Hatred of all his Country-men, and turned those who were indifferent in his Quarrel, his professed Enemies. This Ravage continuing, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* (after slain at *Caxton-Field*) whom Love of the Valour of the House of *Dowglas*, and true Commiseration, had brought to take Arms with him, invadeth one Quarter of the *Merse*, and the Earl of *Dowglas* turneth towards another. But whilst they are dispersed, and more eager and intentive to carry away Spoil, than to look to their own Safety and Military Discipline, the Earl of *Angus*, with Sir *James Hamilton* of *Cad-yow*, put them both (with Number and Confusion overborn) to Flight, slaying many, and taking more Prisoners. After this Overthrow, during the King's Reign, the Earl of *Dowglas* deliberating not to oppose longer to Necessity, but to be still till better Times, never attempted to invade his Country.

Amidst these Incurfions, the Earl of *Ormond* at *Edinburgh* is beheaded; the Countess of *Dowglas*, *Beatrix* (all Hopes being lost of restoring her Husband) despoiled of her Lands and fair Heritage, turned now a Monster of Fortune, the Blame of her unlawful Wedlock laid upon the Earl, consented to by her out of a certain Fear of her Life, submitteth her self to the King's Clemency. The King who denied not Mercy to any sought it of him, that the less guilty amongst the seditious might withdraw themselves, and the obstinate remain the less powerful and weak, receiveth her; and giveth her in Marriage to his Brother *John*, Earl of *Arbore*, Son to the Black Knight of *Lorn*, designing for her Dowry the Lordship of *Balveny*.

By her Example the Countess of *Ross*, abhorring the Fierceness and Cruelties (as she gave out) of her barbarous Husband, but rather out of Policy to be Agent for him, flyeth to the King, and hath Revenues allowed her for the Maintenance of her Estate. Not long after the Earl of *Ross* himself, the Misadventure of his Confederates having taught him now some Wisdom, having seen the King's Clemency towards others equal to him in Treason and Rebellion, by many humble Supplications craved Pardon, and begged Peace. The King by his great Prudence, and the Course of the Affairs of his Kingdom, knew that it was necessary sometimes to condescend to the Imperfections and Faults of some Subjects, and having Compassion, to apply and accommodate himself to that, which tho' according to the Strictness of Equity was not due, yet for the present Occasion and Reason of State, was convenient, answered, "He would neither altogether pardon him, nor flatly reject him, there being many Signs of his Wickedness, and few of his changed Mind; when honestly without Fraud or Guile, he should crave a Pardon, and give Satisfaction to those whom by Blood and Pillage he had wronged, and by some noble Action deface the Remembrance of his former Crimes, then should it be good Time to receive him. Notwithstanding this should not discourage him, but he should know he had a Desire to make him relish the Effects of his Bounty, so he himself would find the Means and Subject. In the Interim he wished him to keep the common Peace of the Country, and not oppress any of his Neighbours. About this time the University of *Glasgow* was founded by *William Turnbull* Bishop of that See. *William Hay* Earl of *Errol*, *George Creighton* Earl of *Caitness*, *William Lord Creighton*, died 1455, and the Bishop of *St. Andrew's* is made Chancellor.

The King partly having loosed, partly cut in pieces that Gordian Knot of the League of his Nobility, began to reobtain again the ancient Authority of the Kings his Predecessors, giving and imposing Laws to his Subjects, according to Reason and greatest Conveniencies. Shortly progressing through the Quarters of the Kingdom, by the sound Counsel and Instructions of the Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, *James Kennedy*, and *William Sinclair* Earl of *Orkney*, he used such Clemency, that in a short Time he reclaimed all his turbulent Subjects. In the Year 1455 he held a Parliament, where he ratified what was resolved upon to be done for the Peace and Weal of his People, establishing many profitable Laws for Posterity. After this time Ambassadors came from *England* and *France* unto him.

*Henry VI.* King of *England*, a soft facile Prince, and more fit to Obey than Command, having restored in Blood, and allowed the Descent of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*; the Duke under Pretence and Countenance of reforming the State and removing of bad Counsellors from the Court (the Umbrage of all Rebellions) by one *Jack Cade* an *Irish*, a bold Man, and who had a Spirit which did not correspond with his low Condition, who feigned himself to be a Cousin of his, of the House of *Mortimer*, and other his Instruments, raised a Rebellion;



bellion; which began amongst the *Kentish* Men, and was after continued by his Confederacy with the Duke of *Northfolk*, Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Devon*, and others; and notwithstanding he had sworn Fealty to King *Henry* at *Blackheath*, again openly took Arms against him at *St. Albans*; where, in pitched Field, *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset*, his greatest Competitor, and who had been preferred to his Place in the Regency of *France*, was killed, the King wounded, taken and committed in the Tower of *London*. At a Parliament after, the Duke is made Protector of the Kingdom: At another Parliament he maketh Claim for the Crown as in his own Right, laying down thus his Title. The Son of *Anne Mortimer*, Daughter and Heir to *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Philip*, the Daughter and sole Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the Third Son of King *Edward III.* and elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*; is to be preferred by very good Right in Succession of the Crown, before the Children of *John* of *Gaunt*, the Fourth Son of the said *Edward III.* But *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, is come of *Philip*, the Daughter and sole Heir of *Lionel*, Third Son to King *Edward III.* then to be preferred to the Children of the Fourth Son, who was *John* of *Gaunt*, and so to *Henry IV.* the Usurper his Son, to *Henry* styling himself *Henry V.* his Son, and *Henry VI.* now wrongfully calling himself King of *England*. This Parliament chosen to the Duke of *York*'s own Mind, at first various, at last unanimously enacted, that *Henry* during his Life should retain the Name and Honour of a King, but that the Duke of *York* should be continued Protector of the Country, and be declared Heir Apparent, and Successor of the Crown after the Death of *Henry*. *Margaret* the Queen, Daughter to *Remy* King of *Sicily*, more courageous than her Husband, disclaimeth the Parliamentary Authority, and this Agreement of her King with the Duke of *York*, as a Matter done to the Prejudice of her Son, and against the Laws of Nations, which admit not a forced Contract, and done by a Prisoner.

The Crown of *England* hanging at this Point, the Queen to her Defence imploring the Aid and Assistance of her best and greatest Friends and Allies, sendeth Ambassadors to King *James*. These remembring the Duties one King oweth to another against Rebels, and the Usurpers of their Crowns, the Correspondence and Amity of King *Henry* with King *James* during his Prosperity, expostulating the Cruelty of the Rebels against *Edmond* the late Duke of *Somerset*, Uncle to King *James*, slain by them in Defence of his Prince, promise in their King's Name, Queen's and their Son's, with the Approbation of the Noblemen of their Party, "To restore to the Kings of *Scotland*, the Lands of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and Bishoprick of *Durham*, after the manner the Kings of *Scotland* in former times had held these Territories of the Kings of *England*; so he would raise an Army, and advance to their Aid and Supply.

The Duke of *York* sent hither also his Ambassadors, giving in many Complaints against King *Henry*; "He had oppressed the People with Taxations, and all Kind of Exactions; He had preferred to Places of State and Government new Men, by whose Counsel, and his Queen, he governed only; He despised the old Nobility, he had lost *Normandy* and *Gascony*; as *France* had been lost by him, *England* was likely to run the same Danger. They could no longer suffer his dull Sluggishness, and his Wife's exorbitant Pride; He was courageless in War, and base in Peace. For the Duke of *York*, if Justice did not warrant his Claim, except his Descent were undisputable, and his Title without all Exception, he would not desire the Possession nor Succession of the Crown. King *James* should remember, it was King *Henry* who entertained the late Dissensions and Civil Discords of *Scotland*; he supported the banished Scots in *England*. And after they had much enlarged their Discourse with Reasons of a just War against King *Henry*, if King *James* will arise in Arms against him, and assist them, They promise to restore and render all the Forts and Places of Importance taken in the old Wars from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to him and his Successors. King *James* answered the *English* Ambassadors, "That he was not ignorant of the State of their Kingdom, neither to whom their Crown did appertain, but that he would not take upon him to be Umpire of their Strife; for the raising an Army, he would think upon it, though he had small Assurance for the Performance of their promised Conditions: He had long projected the recovering of the lost Fortresses of *Scotland* in their Hands, and now he would try whom he might trust. The Ambassadors dismissed, the King raised an Army, but left to the Divination of Posterity, with which of the Parties he was to side. The *English* and *French* Writers affirm, he was to aid King *Henry*, and revenge the Death of the Duke of *Somerset* his Mother's Brother, the *Scottish*, to assist the Duke of *York*, and that by a counterfeit Legate from the Pope after he had been upon his March, he was moved to return. It seemeth that being perswaded by the *French* King (the ancient Confederate of *Scotland*, and who for that End had sent his Ambassadors) to keep the *English* within their own Country, and disable them in their Conquest of *France*, he intended upon the Advantage of this civil Discord to make a Road into *England*, as the *French* made an Al-  
garad by Sea upon *Kent*.

The King's Army being gathered, that it should not loiter in Idleness, attending greater Intelligence from the Event of the *English* Factions, having passed the *Tweed*, invadeth the Town



of *Roxburgh*, which, with little Travel, is taken and equalled with the Ground, and the Castle, a strong Fortress, is besieged. Whilst the King here passeth the Time, inviting it more by Counters and Blandishments, than Ammunition and Warlike Engines to be rendered to him, Commissioners came from the Duke of *Tork*, requiring him to leave his Siege, and contain himself in his own Kingdom, unless he would run the hazard to engage himself in a War against the whole Body of the Kingdom of *England*; they give him thanks for his Forwardness to their Supply; all Things succeeding after their Desires now, and as they could have wished, they request him to return home, when their Necessity required his Aid, they would implore it, and not prove forgetful for what he should do towards him. King *James* asked the Commissioners, if the Duke of *Tork* and his Associates had sent any Direction concerning the keeping of their Promises to him, when he should appear with an Army; they assuring him they had no such Commission; I (answered the King) before their Embassy came, had resolved to take in and throw down this Castle built upon my Bounds, and being by no Benefit obliged to any of your Factions, will not for Words leave off what I am about by Arms to perform. The Commissioners departing, the King caused apply his Battery against the Castle, which courageously defended it self, and holding good beyond Expectation, bred an Opinion that Famine would be the only Engine to make it render.

The King's Army daily at this Siege increased, and amongst all the Companies none were more forward and prompt to discharge their Duties in this Service, than those of the late League with the Earl of *Dowglas*; above others the Earl of *Rofs*, to testify his Remembrance of the King's Clemency in his Behalf, with a great Company of his *Irish* came to the Camp. Men only fit for tumultuous Fights and Spoil. *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly* coming, the King with the Earl of *Angus* would take a View of the Trenches, and as to welcome a Man, whose Presence seemed to preface good Fortune, caused discharge a Pale of Ordnance together; but his coming to this Place was as fatal, as at *Stirling* prosperous; for at this *Salvo*, by the Slices of an overcharged Piece or Wedge, the King, his Thigh-bone being broken, was stricken immediately dead, and the Earl of *Angus* was sore bruised. This Misfortune happened the Third of *August*, 1640, the 29, or as others, the 30 Year of the King's Life, and of his Reign the 24.

Who will take a fair View of this Prince, shall find him to have been endowed with what Conditions and Qualities are to be desired or wished in a Monarch, both for Mind and Body; of an excellent Feature and pleasant Aspect, a strong vigorous Complexion, given to all Knightly Exercises: He is said to have had a broad red Spot upon one of his Cheeks, from which by his Country-men he was named *James with the fiery Face*, which would make Physiognomists conceive, he was of an hot, active, violent Disposition, and one who had more Need of Restraint than Encouragement in all Difficulties; yet in his Actions we find him temperate, stayed, and of a well settled Humour, proceeding upon sound Grounds, and after mature Deliberation, being much given to follow the Advice and Counsel of grave Men about him. He was upright, sincere, affable, courteous, loving to his Domesticks, humane towards his Enemies, gracious and benign to all Men, a Lover of Justice, liberal, but without Oppression of his loyal Subjects; wise, in Adversity industrious and diligent, politick in Affairs of State; having always raised up one Faction to relieve him from the Hazard and Burthen of another, and expose the Faction he most feared to the nearest Hazard: He was wisely diffident, and put on a judicial Distrust, often to be governed as Occasions should vary, and could dissimulate according to the Fashions and Changes of the Time: He seemeth to have been indifferent in keeping his Favourites, and that he could ever as well transfer his Fancy, as he had settled his Affection; for, like the Sun, he would make a Round, and not always shine upon one Horizon.

The Death of the Two Earls of *Dowglas* were fatal to him; and though he was innocent of the First, the Second chanced deservedly in his Hand. Courageous Princes are not to be provoked by any Subject how great soever: Confederations and Leagues are fearful Attempts against Sovereignty, and for the most part end with the Ruine of their Authors. The Extermination of the Earls of *Dowglas* in the Person of *James* (a Church-man) proceeded rather from his own Stubbornness, than any Hatred the King had against him. In all Nations it is observed, that there are some Families fatal to the Ruine of their Commonwealths, and some Persons fatal to the Ruine of the Houses and Race of which they are descended: Since in Kingdoms some have no Compassion of their Prince, nor the Loss of his Honour, a Prince should not much regret their Loss, nor the Ruine of their Persons and Estates. His great Clemency appeared in this, That, the Heads taken away of that long Rebellion, he followed no particular Revenge upon their Followers, not only granting Pardons, but forgetting the Offences; knowing it was better to heal and cure the Faulty and Sick Members of a State, than to abolish and cut them away; and more Valour for a Prince to overcome his own Passions and just Wrath, than to vanquish and subdue his proudest Enemies; yet was not his Clemency a soft Weakness,



Weakness, it being no less Cruelty to Forgive all than to Spare none, but an Order and Discretion in Justice, temper'd with Severity towards some more than towards others, according to their Demerits. He was very sensible of the Afflictions of such as were distressed, as witness the Countesses of *Douglas* and *Ross*. His Life having set in the Orient of his Age and Hopes, he deserveth, in the Records of Memory and Fame, a Place amongst the Best but Unfortunate Princes.

He had Issue of his Queen, *James*, who succeeded, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, *John* Earl of *Mar*, *Margaret* Countess of *Arran* by the *Boyd*, and after *Lady Hamilton*; and *Cecily*. He was buried with all Funeral pomp, within the Monastery of *Holy-rood-house* at *Edinburgh*.

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I.

THE



[illegible]

The first of the three papers was a letter from the  
 Secretary of the Board of Education, dated 18th  
 Nov. 1881, and signed by the Secretary, Mr. J. H.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Reign of JAMES the Third,  
KING of SCOTLAND.

THE Queen having Tidings of the Disaster of her Husband, full of Grief and Cares; with her Son, came to the Army at *Roxburgh*; and the publick Loss being revealed (for till then it was but whispered) with more than a Masculine Courage caused give new and desperate Assaults to the Castle; many Turrets being shaken, some Gates broken, Parcels of Walls beaten down, the Mines ready in diverse Quarters to spring, the besieged ignorant of the Assailers Misfortune, and by the Dissension of their Country-men fallen from all Hopes of Relief, treat upon a Surrender. Conditions being obtained peaceably to depart with their Lives and Goods; the Fortress is given up: And shortly after, that it should not be a Residence of Oppression in following Times, is demolished and equal'd with the Ground.

Many of the Three Estates being here assembled, the Times not suiting with other Solemnities, at *Kelso* the Peers of the Kingdom, in a Military Pomp, set the Crown upon the Head of the King, then some Seven Years old, and give him their Oath of Fidelity. At their coming to *Edinburgh* the Education and Governance of him and the other Children is committed to the Queen their Mother; The Credence of what could make for Peace at Home, or War abroad, is trusted to *Andrew Stuart* Lord *Evandale*, the Lord *Kennedy*, Earl of *Orkney*, the Lord *Boyd* Chancellor, the Lord *Grahame*, the Bishops of *St. Andrew's*, *Glasgow* and *Dunkeld*. The Civil Wars increasing in *England*, the Governours of *Scotland*, under colour of preserving the bordering Countries, sent forth some Companies, which upon Occasions made Roads into *Northumberland*, and threw down all the Fortresses out of which Incursions were wont to be made upon the *Scottish* Bounds, most especially the Castle of *Wark*: After which ravaging, the Winter recalled them home.

The milder Parts of the Kingdom reduced to Order, some turbulent Chiefs of the Mountaineers taking the Occasion of the Non-age of the King, and of Rumors of Dissensions amongst the Governours, essay to trouble the Peace of their far and wild Countries: *Allan Macdougall* of *Nether-Lorn*, throweth his eldest Brother in close Prison, with Intention to rob him of his Life and Estate; but he after is surprised by the Earl of *Argile*: *Donald* of the *Isles* taketh the Castle of *Inverness*, and placing there a Garison, proclaimeth himself King of the *Isles*, compelling the neighbour Towns and simpler sort of People to pay him Taxes. At the Rumor of this Insolence, all wicked Out-Laws resort unto him; by whose Power he invadeth the Castle of *Blair* in *Arbole*, out of which the Earl, the King's Uncle, with his Lady (once Countess of *Dowglas*) fly and take Sanctuary in the Church of *St. Bride*, where the Church about them being set on Fire, they were irreligiously taken, and transported to the Island of *Ila*. Whilst the Governours were raising an Army, and advancing such Forces as were in Readiness against the Author of these Mischiefs, they were ascertained, that, as these Savages were lanching forth of that Island in their Wherries and small Vessels made of Boards and Wickers, by a violent Tempest from Heaven, the most Part of them were dashed against the Rocks and drowned; and that those who had escaped, were struck with a Pannick Fear, and deprived of their right Judgment and Understanding: An ordinary Accident to Men blinded with Superstition, and guilty of Murder and Sacrilege: Amidst which Distractions, the Earl *Arbole* with his Lady, was safely returned to his own Castle.

MARGARET Queen of *England*, after the Second Overthrow, and Taking of her Husband at *Northampton*, with the Prince her Son, and the new Duke of *Somerset*, having fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham* (whilst *Richard* Duke of *York* was establishing his Title and Right to



the Crown at *London*) raised in the North, of *Scots* and *English*, a strong Army, which marched towards *Tork*; the Duke of *Tork* leaving the King in the Custody of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick*, tho' he knew himself inferior in Power and Number to his Enemies, by the Pride of his former Victories and the overweening of his Soldiers Valour, with *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland* his younger Son, the Earl of *Salisbury* and others, rencountreth her at *Wakefield-Geen*, and here by his own Rashness, with his Son young *Rutland*, he is killed.

The Earl of *Salisbury* is taken, and with other Prisoners beheaded at *Pomfret* Castle; their Heads were fixed upon Poles about the Walls of the City of *Tork*; that of the Duke's was mocked with a Paper Crown, and exposed to the barbarous Mirth of the Beholders. The Queen encouraged by this Victory, desiring to disannul all Acts made lately in Prejudice of her Husband, marcheth courageously towards *London*: In which time *Edward* Earl of *March*, Son to the late Duke of *Tork*, overthrew the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Ormond*, both of the Queen's Faction: At *Mortimer-Cross* in her way to *London*, the Queen meeting the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Norfolk* at *St. Albans* (who carried King *Henry* her Husband along with them) overthrew them, and recovered the Person of her King. It is observed that Victory always fled from where this King was present: The Citizens of *London*, at the Approach of the Queen's Army fearing Hostility, shut their Gates against her, and armed for Resistance. At this time *Edward* Earl of *March* having joined his Victorious Army with the Remainder of the Earl of *Warwick*'s, entred in Triumph the City of *London*, and with great Applause and Acclamations of the People, was proclaimed King. Queen *Margaret* and her Faction retiring to the North, won so the Hearts of that People, that they gathered an Army able to stand for her Defence, consisting of Threescore Thousand fighting Men. *Edward* Earl of *March*, choosing rather to provoke than expect his Enemies, advanced towards them; the Place of their Meeting was between *Caxton* and *Tewton*. In this Fight the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, the Lords *Beaumont* and *Dacres*, *Grey* and *Walls* were slain, and above Thirty six Thousand *English* struck down: The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Excester* fly to *Tork* to carry the News to the unfortunate King, leaving the Victory to *Edward* who is again saluted King.

King *Henry* after this Overthrow, perceiving how desperate his Hopes were in his own Country, with his Queen, his Son, and the Remainder of his dispersed Friends, secured himself by Flight into *Scotland*; *James Kennedy* Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, to whose Person the Authority of the State was then reduced, received him with Magnificence and Honour, and put him in Hopes, by the Assistance of *Scotland*, to restore his Fortune. King *Henry*, as well to reserve some Refuge and Sanctuary for himself, as to win the Hearts, and insinuate himself into the Favour of the People of *Scotland*, caused render the Town of *Berwick* to them, which the *English* had violently possessed since the Days of *Edm. I.* For which Favour the *Scottish* Nobility vowed at all Times to come to his Supply, and defend him to their uttermost: And that the Friendship begun might continue without all Vacillation, the Queens of *Scotland* and *England*, both descended of the *French* Race, began to treat of an Alliance, promising *Edward* Prince of *Wales* should be married with the Lady *Margaret*, the King of *Scotland*'s Sister, none of them then having attained the Years of Marriage.

The Miseries of King *Henry* increasing, suffered not these Two Queens to stay long together; *Margaret* with her Son *Edward*, to implore the Aid of her Friends, maketh a Voyage towards *France* to her Father *Remy* King of *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Jerusalem*, Duke of *Anjou*, a Prince large of Titles, short of Power. These who had followed King *Henry* into *Scotland*, whilst he is left only intente to Devotion in the Cloyster of the *Gray-Friers* at *Edinburgh*, return back again to solicit their Friends in *England* for a Second encounter. Upon the Arrival of Queen *Margaret* in *France*, she obtaineth of her Cousin *Lewis XI.* that those who favoured and assisted the Duke of *Tork*, were prohibited Traffick, and commanded to remove out of the *French* Dominions, and that Five Hundred Soldiers should come to her Aid; a Number so small and so unworthy the Name of an Army, that it was but a competent Retinue for so great a Princess. With these she came to the Coast of *Scotland*, and from thence sailed to *Tinmouth*, where being repulsed by the Inhabitants, and forced again to put to Sea, she was by a furious Tempest driven to *Berwick*,

Here leaving the Prince her Son, *Edward*, with the Increase and Supply of some *Scots*, taking the King her Husband with her, she advanced into the Bishoprick of *Durham*: In her March through *Northumberland*, her Army increased to a great Number; the Duke of *Somerset*, Sir *Ralph Percy*, and divers of King *Henry*'s Well-wishers having resorted unto her. King *Edward*, finding King *Henry* by the fresh Air of the North to have acquired new Spirits, prepareth to oppose him, and having sent down the Lord *Montague*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, he himself with greater Forces shortly followed: *Montague* having through the Shires where he went, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, gathered a convenient Army, marched directly against King *Henry*. In the mean Time *Henry Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, the Lords *Hungerford*, *Ross*, *Moulins*, Sir *Ralph Percy*, present themselves to hinder his further Progress; they are overthrown, and King *Henry* with great Difficulty escapeth to *Berwick*. At the News of this Overthrow,



throw, King *Edward*, being in his March towards *Durham*, finding the Presence of his Person, or Army needless, turned towards *Tork*, and gave the *Earl of Warwick* Command to take in all the Castles and Fortresses which as yet held good for King *Henry* in the North.

Amongst the Garrisons, placed in *Northumberland* by the Queen, there was a Garrison of the *French* in the Castle of *Anwick*, under the Command of *Peter Bruce*, otherwise named *le Seigneur de la Varoune*, Seneschal of *Normandy*, which held long good against the *English*. This *Peter Bruce* was in great Account with *Charles VII*, Father to *Lewis XI*, and for this was not much liked of *Lewis*, but sent over with Queen *Margaret* to make Wrack upon apparent Dangers. Having escaped Tempests at Sea, he took the Castles of *Bambrough* and *Dunstanbrough*, which he demolished. After he essayed to keep the Castle of *Anwick*; but the *Earl of Warwick*, King *Edward* lying near to *Durham*, there beleaguered him: Whether this *Mari* came from the Race of the *Bruces* of *Scotland*, or no, is uncertain; for the vulgar Writers in this detract him, naming him *Bryce* and a *Bretone*, or that the *Scots* would give a proof of their friendship to the Queen of *England*, and of their Valour to the *French*; whilst he is every where beset, and near past Hope of Relief, the *Earl of Angus*, then Warden of the Marches, raised a Power of Twenty Three Thousand Men and approached the Borders, out of which Number he made Choice of Five Thousand Horse-men, remarkable for their Valour. These, about the Midst of the Day, coming near the Castle of *Anwick*, and by their Colours and Arms being known afar to Captain *Bruce*, he taketh a Resolution to sally out and meet them; the strongest of the *Scottish* Horsemen receiving them, convoy them safely to their Borders; some of the Besiegers would have fought in the Pursuit, but the *English* General gave them fair Passage.

King *Edward* having taken all the Castles and Forts which in the North held out against him, placing Garrisons in them, returned to *London*: As King *Henry*, void both of Counsel and Courage, came back to *Edinburgh*. Here he had not long stayed, when tired with the Tedioufness of his Exile, the prolonging of a wretched Life being more grievous to him than Death it self, and allured by false Hopes of his Friends, he resolveth to hazard upon a Return to his own Kingdom; his Crown lost, all his Favourers and Well-wishers almost slaughtered, he cometh into *England*; then disguised, and by Night-journeys shifting from Place to Place, at last betrayed by some of his Servants, he is found out. It is recorded that a Son of *Sir Edward Talbot's* apprehended him as he sat at Dinner at *Wadding-Town-hall*; and like a common Malefactor, with his Legs under the Horse's Belly, guarded him up towards *London*. By the Way the *Earl of Warwick* met him, who led him Prisoner to the Tower. *Margaret* his desolate Queen with her Son is driven once again to fly to their Father *Reny* into *France*.

King *Edward*, his Competitors being all dead or suppressed, finding a Cessation of Arms expedient, and a breathing Time from War; to settle and make sure his new Government, as to other his Neighbour Princes for Peace, so sendeth Ambassadors to *Scotland*, to treat for a Truce for some Years.

The *Earl of Argile*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, Abbot of *Holy-wood-house*, *Sir Alexander Boyd*, and *Sir William Cranston*, being chosen to this Effect Commissioners, come to *Tork*, and the *English* Commissioners there attending them, a Truce for Fifteen Years is agreed upon, and solemnly by both Kings after confirmed.

*Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, Daughter to *Arnold* Duke of *Guelders*, and Mother to King *James*, the projected Marriage of her Daughter with *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, by the Miseries of King *Henry* and Queen *Margaret* her Kinswoman proving desperate; her Son *Alexander*, either as he went to the *Low Countries* to see his Grandfather, or returned from him, being by the *English* taken upon the Seas; limited in Credence of governing her Children by the Insolence of a proud Nobility, and her Reputation branded, after a long Languishing with inward Discontentments, turned, as it were recluse, and began to bid farewell to this World. Her Melancholy growing incurable, amidst her last Trances, when her Son had come to visit her, she is said to have spoken to him almost to this Sense.

" That Providence which brought me upon the Earth, and set a Crown on my Head, doth  
 " now recal and remove me to a better Kingdom; and my Happiness is not in this little,  
 " that I leave this Life without Change of that Estate in which I peaceably lived. Death  
 " now sheweth me as in a Mirrour the Frailty of all Worldly Pomp and Glory, which before  
 " by the marble Colours of false Greatness was overshadowed and covered from me. My  
 " Grievs have been many, few my Contentments, the most eminent of which was the Hopes  
 " I conceived of you and my other Children: And now my greatest Regret is, that I leave  
 " you before I could see my Wishes accomplished towards you. My only Care was to have  
 " you brought up in all Vertue, and Goodness: But Heaven shall bestow that Charge to more  
 " prudent Governours: However take these Motherly Directions from me, who can leave you  
 " no better Legacy. Be earnest to observe these Commandments which are prescribed unto  
 " you by Religion, for this supporteth the Scepters of Princes: And a Religious King cannot



" but have obedient Subjects. What an unreasonable thing is it, that a King will have a Peo-  
 " ple to acknowledge him for their Sovereign Prince upon Earth, and will not acknowledge  
 " God for his Supream Lord in Heaven? A King who rebelleth against God, all subordinate  
 " Creatures will rebel against him. Love my Children, and laying aside the Port and State-  
 " li-ness of a King, receive them with the Affection of a Brother. Endeavour to make your Subjects  
 " obey you more out of Love than Fear: Or make your self beloved and feared both together,  
 " seeing Love alone of it self is often the Cause of Contempt, and Fear alone begets Hatred.  
 " Remember ye Govern not the soft effeminate People of the *South*, but a fierce Warlike Nati-  
 " on of the *North*, which oftner use to be intreated than commanded by their Princes. Be  
 " sparing to lay Subsidies on them, which maketh many Male-content; and live upon your  
 " own, suffering others to enjoy what is theirs. Beware of Flatterers, and exalting undeser-  
 " ving Persons above your ancient Nobility. Suffer not your Prerogative to come in Questi-  
 " on, but foreseeing the Danger, rather give Way to all that with Reason is demanded of you.  
 " Moderate your Passions; He shall never govern a Kingdom, who cannot govern himself, and  
 " bring his Affections within the Circle of Reason. It fears me, Envy and Malice arm them-  
 " selves against you, which to overcome, endeavour to be Martial in your self; for a Prince  
 " that is not Martial in himself, shall never be freed of Rebellion amongst his Subjects: A strong  
 " Arm should hold the Ballance of Justice. When Dissention ariseth, be not a Loiterer and  
 " Sluggard, but with all Celerity suppress it in the Infancy. Rebellion is like Fire in a City,  
 " which should be quenched, tho' with the pulling down of the Neighbouring Houses. Others  
 " will instruct you in the Art of governing, with greater Curiosity and Wisdom, but not with  
 " the like Love and Affection. I wish this Counsel be ingraven in your Heart and Conscience  
 " after my Death, for a perpetual Testimony of my Sincerity in your Education. And if, by the  
 " unjust Counsels of others, ye be brought to practise ought contrary to these Instructions, re-  
 " member ye cannot shun inevitable Dangers both to your State and Person. But now I am war-  
 " ned from above to deliver this Grief-full Body to the Rest of a desired Grave.

After she had thus counselled and blessed her Son, not living many Days, she was buried with  
 all Solemnities and Funeral Rites at *Edinburgh* in the College of the Trinity, which she her self  
 had founded in the Year 1466.

The King as he increased in Years, increasing in Strength and Ability for Exercises either of  
 Recreation or Valour, by the Regents is given to a Brother of the Lord *Boyd* to be bred in  
 Knightly Prowess, a Man singular for his Education abroad and Demeanour at home. The  
*Kennedies* were now aged, and become tired to give such assiduous Attendance at Court as they  
 were wont, and the Times required. The Lord *Boyd* by the Weakness of his Co-partners go-  
 verned the State alone, as Sir *Alexander* his Brother did the young King; to whose natural In-  
 clination he did so comply and conform himself, that he had the whole Trust of his Affairs,  
 and the King had no Thoughts but his. So soon as the King began to know himself, he turned  
 impatient of being subject to the Laws of Minority, that he himself should be restrained by that  
 Authority which did derive it self from him; to loath the Superintendency and Government of  
 others, and to affect an unreasonable Privilege to be at his own Disposal and the governing  
 himself. Many Things are done without the Advice of the Governours, and Occasion is sought  
 to be disburdened of their Authority. The Lord *Boyd* and his Brother in a little Time increasing  
 in Greatness, and having an Intention to transfer the Power of the State and Glory of the Court  
 to their Family, fail not to find Opportunity to free the King from the Severity and Rigour of  
 the Governour's Schooling, and to frame him an Escape. Whilst the King remained at *Linlith-  
 gow*, the Lord *Hailes*, Lord *Sommervail*, Sir *Andrew Carr* of *Cosford*, and Sir *Alexander Boyd*,  
 agree upon a Match of Hunting, and will have the King Umpire of the Game. Early the Morn-  
 ing following, the Gentlemen who were upon the Plot failed not in their Attendance. The  
 King being a Mile off the Town, and holding the Way towards *Edinburgh*, the Lord *Kennedy*,  
 whose Quarter then was to attend, and who had leisurely followed, suspecting this Hunting to  
 be a Game of State, the King continuing his Progress, laying his Hands upon the Reins of his  
 Bridle, requested him to turn again to *Linlithgow*; for that he perceived the Time was not con-  
 venient for him to go further, neither was he at a convenient Match in Absence of his best de-  
 serving Followers. Sir *Alexander Boyd* impatient that the King should have been thus stayed,  
 after injurious Words, struck the reverend Governour with a Hunting-staff upon the Head, and  
 took the King along with him to *Edinburgh*. At a frequent Meeting of the States, the *Kennedies*  
 urged to have the King continue under Minority, the *Boyd*s to take the Government in his own  
 Person. After long Contestations, Wisdom being overcome by Boldness, the Authority of the  
 better Party was forced to give Place, and yield to the Will of the greater. Thus the Faction of  
 the *Boyd*s prevailed.

After this the *Kennedies* full of Indignation, and breathing Revenge, leave the Court; Cares,  
 Grief and Age, about this Time, brought *James Kennedy*, Bishop of *St. Andrew's* to his  
 Tomb, which in great Magnificence he had raised in a Church built by himself in the City  
 of



of St. *Andrew's*; where also he founded a College of Philosophy, and endowed it with many Privileges, and sufficient Rents to entertain Professors. By the Death of this Prelate, venerable for his Wisdom, singular for his Justice, and the Tranquillity following his Government, and magnificent in all his Actions, the Glory of the Court and Country suffered a great Eclipse.

For, he being taken away, the *Boys* laying Foundation for their Power and Greatness, began to turn all to their own Advantage. The first Mark of their Envy was *Patrick Graham*, the Brother of Bishop *James Kennedy* by the Mother, who was Sister to King *James I.* After this Man had been chosen Bishop of St. *Andrew's*, as the Custom then was, by the Chapter appointed for that Election, he was barred from his Place, and violently repulsed by the Faction at Court. To repair which Indignity, he made a Journey to *Rome*; where, being a Man noble by Birth, above others for his Learning and many Virtues, in a little Time, by Pope *Sixtus the IV.* he was re-established and confirmed in his Place.

During his abode at *Rome*, the old Question, concerning the Liberty of the Church of *Scotland*, began to be exagitated.

The Archbishop of *Tork* contested, that he was Metropolitan of *Scotland*, and that the Twelve Bishops of that Kingdom were subject to his Jurisdiction. *Patrick Graham* remonstrated, how the Archbishop of *Tork*, considering the usual Wars between the Two Kingdoms, was often inaccessible to the Church-men of *Scotland*, especially in Causes of Appellation. The Pope, after the hearing of both Parties, erected the See of St. *Andrew's* to the Dignity of an Archbishop's See; and *Patrick Graham*, not only was made Primate and Metropolitan of *Scotland*, and ordained to have the other Bishops under him, but for the Space of Three Years designed Legate for the Pope, with full Power to Correct and Restore the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and examine the Manners and Conversation of the Clergy. Notwithstanding these Favours of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Worth and Excellencies of the Man himself, he dared not return home to his own Country before the declining of the Fortunes of the *Boys*.

This Family seemed now in the Zenith and Vertical Point of its Greatness. No Imputation could be laid to the *Boys* in the Time of their Government, except that they brought the young King by their private Working, without the Consent and Approbation of the other Regents, to *Edinburgh*, for the assuming the Government in his Minority. In Approbation of their Innocency, and to Warrant them from this Danger, the King in a Parliament declareth publicly, "That the *Boys* were not the Authors, nor Projectors of that Business, but only the Assisters of him and his Followers, being not Formal but Instrumentary Causes of his coming to the Helm of the State himself: That they were so far from being obnoxious to any Blame or Reproach for this Deed, that they deserved immortal Thanks, and an honourable Guerdon in all time to come, having obeyed him in that which was most just, honest and expedient for the Weal of the Kingdom. Upon this Declaration of the King, the Lord *Boyd* required the present Action might be registred amongst the Acts of Parliament, and he obtained what was desired, but not with that Success was hoped for.

In this Parliament, the other Regents are rid of their Charge, the Lord *Boyd* being made only Governour of the Kingdom; and the Object of all Men's Respects; having the whole Power and Authority to minister Justice of all Kinds to the Subjects during the King's Nonage, and till he had fully compleated One and Twenty Years: The Defence of the King's Person, and of his Brothers, and the keeping of the Two Ladies his Sisters, are trusted unto him: He hath all the Towns, Castles, Fortresses, Sea-ports, and Places of Importance at his Command. These Proceedings of the Parliament seemed to some very strange, in advancing Men already great enough, and bestowing upon them all Offices of State, and adding Power to such who wanted only Will to do Mischief, except that they knew well how to abase and pull them down again, making their Fall the more sudden. *Robert Lord Boyd*, having the Reins of Government in his Hands, and the Custody of the King's Sisters, daz'd with the golden Sun of Honour, to lay more sure the Foundation of his Greatness, joineth in Marriage *Thomas* his Eldest Son, a Youth of extraordinary Endowments, both of Mind and Body, with *Margaret* the King's eldest Sister, not long before design'd by her Mother to have been given in Marriage to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*; and he is created Earl of *Arran*. The Father knowing how easily the Conversation of young Persons breedeth a liking, had brought them up together, which turning in a Love and Delight of others Company, concluded at last in Marriage. This Match, though Royal, Great and Rich, instead of supporting the Fortunes of the *Boys*, much weakened them, turning them the Objects of Envy. The Nobles repined at it, and the common People (lighter than the Wind, and more variable than the Rain-bow) made it the Subject of their foolish Discourses. Now (said they) the *Boys* aspire to the Crown; for the King with his Brothers being removed, it appertaineth to them, a Kingdom being the Dowry often of a Wife of the Blood Royal. The *Kennedies*, and such who disliked the present Government, take the Occasion of the Discontentment of the Nobility, and the Rumours of the People to shake the King's towards the Governour, and change the Brawl of State. To this End, they give Way to great and universal Oppressions, most of which were hatched and occasioned by them-



themselves. By these in a short Time, the Commons turn licentious and dissolute, contemning all Government, every Man doing what seemed best in his own Eyes, and the Gentry divide in Factions. Such who wont to live upon Rapine and Theft, return to their wonted Trades: Honest Men are spoiled of their Goods; the Seditious and Wicked are maintained and defended against all Laws and Justice by their Parties. The State thus troubled, and all Order confounded by sly and crafty Men, who at first pretended great Friendship and Interest towards the *Boys*, the King's Affection towards them is assailed, and his Resolutions tried. Many Times having been plausibly listened unto, at last pulling off their Masks, they lay Imputations against them. They remonstrate to him, "What great Disparagement was between the King of *Scotland's* eldest Sister and the Son of the Lord *Boyd*; that by this Match he was robbed of one of the fairest Jewels of his Crown; The *Boys* should not have appropriated that to themselves, of which they had only the keeping; She should have been reserved for some Neighbour Prince, by which Alliance the State of the Kingdom, and the Person of the King might have been in greater Safety: For if the King should chance to be infested by some insolent Nobility, the Name and Power of a Neighbour Prince were sufficient to keep him safe on his Throne, which by this Match was endangered. They suggested that the *Boys* built their Estimation in the Air of popular Applause, and endeavoured to endear themselves in the Opinion of the Multitude. A Prince is not a Lord of that People that loveth another better than him. Should the *Boys* be accused of Peculate and robbing the King and the common Treasure, the King might make a Prey of their unlawfull Conquest, and by their Attenders reward the Services of many of his necessitous Friends, it being acquired for the most Part by Spoils, and the taxing of the Subjects unlawfully. The Height to which their Riches was increased should be feared. The Faults of all the Disorders of the Common-wealth are laid upon the *Boys*, as the Authors of every Breaking-out and Sedition, that they might the more securely possess the Places near the King. At this Time Complaints from all Parts of the Kingdom, and by all Sorts of Persons, incessantly being given unto him, advance the Intentions of their Enemies: And the King's Mind naturally inclined to Fears and Superstition, being long tossed and perplexed, began to turn away from the *Boys*, and wish their Power in some Degrees brought lower and lessened, (Preambles of Ruine :) But he would go leisurely to produce this Effect, and make one Change bring forth another.

The King increasing in Years and youthful Perturbations, is counselled for the continuing of his Race and Succession, and the keeping his Person without the common Disorders of the World, to think upon some Match profitable for his Country, and honourable for himself. He is courted by many, and courteth others; the Duke of *Burgundy* had offered him his Daughter, as he had done to other Princes his Friends and Neighbours; but his Mind was not to have her married at all during his Lifetime.

*Andrew Stewart* Lord *Evandale*, then Chancellor of the Kingdom, with the Bishops of *Glasgow* and *Orkney* being sent Ambassadors to *Christiern* King of *Denmark* for an Accommodation, and taking up some Business concerning the Isles of *Orkney* and *Sherland* 1469. the Quarrel was taken away by a Marriage to be celebrated between the King and Lady *Margaret*, King *Christiern's* Daughter; a Lady thought worthy of his Bed, in respect of the Excellency of her Beauty, her Royal Descent, and Greatness of her Birth. All Matters being agreed upon, these Isles engaged for her Dowry, there wanted only an honourable Retinue and Convoy to bring home the Lady. To this Negotiation, by the Craft of some about the King, and Vanity of others who gloried to see their Friend promoted to such great Honour, *Thomas* Earl of *Arran*, as a Man flourishing in Fame and Riches, and able to maintain and discharge all Magnificence, is deputed as the fittest Person. Thus by the Ambition and Unattentiveness of his Friends, his Worth was made the Scaffold of his Ruine, the lamentable Condition of Men of high Desert. In the Beginning of the Harvest, accompanied with some young Noblemen and Gallants, most of which were his select Friends and Well-wishers, he ascendeth his Ships. Whilst, as the King of *Scotland's* Brother in Law, he is some Months riotously entertained at the *Danish* Court, the Rigour of that Northern Climate, by the congealing of the Ocean moored up his Ships, and barred all Return till the following Spring. In this Absence of a Man so near unto the King, his Father and Uncle, by Age, Sickness, and their private Affairs, not so frequently haunting the Court as they were accustomed, the *Kennedies* and they of the contrary Faction, having shaken the King's Affection, and broken these Bands (his Pleasures, Idleness, and Vacancy from the public Affairs of the State) by which the *Boys* thought they had kept him sure, move him, now a little delighting in Action, to proceed to the Consideration of such Matters as might be objected against the Government of the *Boys*. But that this might not appear to be an Act of Faction, but the universal Consent of the Kingdom, a Parliament was summoned to be holden in *November* at *Edinburgh*. Here *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, with his Brother *Sir Alexander*, are summoned to answer in Judgment to such Points as should be exhibited against them. At the appointed Day the Lord *Boyd* appeared, but accompanied with such a Multitude of the common People, and Numbers of his Friends, Vassals, and Followers all in Arms, with such Ostentation

and



and Boasting, that the King and Courtiers were well pleased to suffer them to dissolve and scatter of their own free Wills. At this Insolence and Malapertness (yet to our own Time an usual Custom in Scotland) the King conceived such Indignation, that he raised a strong Guard to attend Justice and his Commandments, and laid secretly Forces to assist these, if the *Boys* should oppose his Laws by Convocation of the *Lieges*. The Lord *Boyd* after private Intelligence of the Minds of the Court to blow him up, rather amazed than in Choler at the Change of his Master's Mind, fled into England; his Brother Sir *Alexander* arrested by Sickness, and relying upon his own Integrity more than he ought to have done, considering the Malice of his Enemies, was brought before the Parliament. His Brother and he were challenged, That upon the Tenth of July 1446. they laid Hands upon the King's Person, and against his Purpose brought him off the high Way to the Castle of Callendar, and that by their private Power and Consent, contrary to the established Order of the State, and the other Regents Advice they brought the King to Edinburgh. When Sir *Alexander* sought to produce an Act of Parliament for Abolition or Approbation of this Deed as good Service, it was kept up, and he being condemned, had his Head cut off. Their other Accusations contained the Topical Faults of Favourites, That they had enriched themselves out of the King's Treasure, monopolized Things belonging to the Crown, diminished the Revenues thereof, and removed worthy Men from the Council, placing such in their Room as had Dependency upon them. Thomas Earl of Arran employed in a publick Charge by the Kingdom, absent, and unheard, is declared Rebel with his Father, and his Moveables escheared to the King. To his original Faults was added, that he dared marry the King's Sister without Consent of the States, the King being of Non-age. At the Noise of this Thunder-clap, Robert Lord *Boyd* left this World at *Anwick*. No sooner had the Spring rendred the *Baltick* Seas navigable, when the *Danish* Lady with her Fleet anchored in the *Forth*: The Earl of Arran who was the Paranymp and her Convoy, in that general Gladness, by the Persuasions of some of his Friends, was preparing to come ashore, and to submit himself to the King's Clemency. But his Lady, who had afar discerned his Danger, coming aboard disguised, and giving him particular Information of the Calamity of his House, the Weakness of his Friends at Court, and the many Snares, Envy and Malice had laid to surprise him, he hoisted Sails, and with her, who would be Partaker of all his Misfortunes, returned to *Denmark*; from *Denmark* by *Germany* he came to King *Lewis* in *France*, who interposed his Requests to King *James* for his Regress and Restoring. But the Letters in his Favours producing no Effects, Charles Duke of *Burgundy* making War against his Rebel Subjects, he was graciously received by him, and entertained as his Ally: His Lady remained at *Antwerp*, where she bore him Two Children, *James* and *Gracile*.

Lady *Margaret* the 10 of July 1469, or after others 1470. maketh her Entry into *Edinburgh*, and scarce having attained the Sixteenth Year of her Age, is married to King *James* in the Abbey Church of *Holy-rood-house*; and in the Month of *November* following, by a Convention of the three Estates, was crowned Queen.

The King inexorable in the Behalf of the Earl of Arran, and breathing his total Ruine, sendeth Letters to *Antwerp*, filled with Promises and Threatnings, to move his Sister to return to Scotland. These at first prevailed nothing with this Lady to make her forsake the Husband of her Youth; many Letters, and from several Friends and Well-wishers in several Fashions and Stiles, coming to her, at last she was brought to believe her Presence would mollify the Mind of her Enemies, and work her Husband a Re-establishment of his former Favours with the King her Brother, and restore him to all his Possessions and Dignities. Upon which Hopes she comes to Scotland. But these Hopes proved all false; for instead of having Access to her Brother, she is kept at *Kilmarnock*, the chief House of the *Boys*, as in a free Prison; and her Husband is summoned within threescore Days to adhere to his Wife under Pain of Divorce. The Unfortunate Earl, for Fear of his Head, not appearing, his Marriage is declared null; his Wife is divorced from him, and is constrained by her Brother to marry *James* Lord *Hamilton*, to whom also the Earldom of Arran was given for a Dowry. Not long after, her Two Children to Earl *Thomas*, *James* and *Gracile*, are brought to Scotland, who in process of Time proved little more Fortunate than their Father; for *James* was slain by *Hugh Montgomery* of *Eglinton*, and *Gracile*, tho' first married to the Earl of *Cassils*, and after to the Lord *Forbes*, was barren. Some have recorded, that the Earl *Thomas*, after this violent bereaving him of his Wife, died of Displeasure at *Antwerp*, and had a Tomb raised over him, with an honourable Inscription, by Charles Duke of *Burgundy*: Others, who hate the *Boys*, tell, he died not at *Antwerp* but at *Florence*, and that he was killed by a Merchant out of Jealousy of having abused his Wife.

Queen *Margaret*, the Third Year after her Marriage, in the Month of *March*, brought forth a Son, who was named *James*; and *Christiern* King of *Denmark*, to congratulate the happy Delivery of his Daughter, and of Expectation of a continued Succession to the Crown of Scotland of his Race, released all the Right, Title, and Claim, which he or his Successors might have to the Isles of *Orkney* and *Scotland*. The King calleth afterwards a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, wherein, though the Reformation of Abuses, as wearing of Silk and other Foreign Trifles, the Building of Ships, and enacting Laws for the present Time were pretended, a liberal Subsidy



was the greatest Aim. His Exchequer being empty, and many of his best Friends turning necessitous and needy, *John* Lord of the *Isles* was attainted for his own and his Father's Misdemeanour; the King raiseth Forces to pursue him; the Earl of *Crawford* being made Admiral; the Earl of *Arbole* the King's Uncle Lieutenant of the Regiments by Land, such Means in short Time was used by the Earl of *Arbole*, that the Lord of the *Isles* submitted himself to the King's Clemency, and in a Convention of the Estates at *Edinburgh*, he resigned all the Right he had to the Earldom of *Ross*, and the Lands of *Knapdale* and *Kintyre*, which the King annexed to the Crown.

*Patrick Graham* Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, having at *Rome* understood the Fall of the *Boys*, returneth to his own Country; where first amongst his Friends, and the most peaceable Sort of the Clergy, he divulgeth the Pope's Bull for his Supremacy over the other Churchmen of the Kingdom, and his Power of their Trial and promoting to Benefices; and after caused proclaim it at all publick Places. The laudable Elections anciently used about the Places and Offices of Churchmen, by the Corruption of the Times, being taken away, and that Power altogether assumed by the King; the Courtiers, who were accustomed to sell Benefices, and the Churchmen who were wont to buy them, reject the Bull, and set themselves against him; by their Traffick he is discharged to take the Place or Ornaments of an Archbishop, or carry any other Cross or Cap than what the former Bishops used to have. But here they set not up their Rest, *William Schevez*, a Man in those Times admired for his Skill in Astrology, and promoted to be Arch-Dean of *St. Andrew's*, seconded by *John Lock* the Rector of that University, a better Grammarian than Christian, excommunicates this Archbishop for his Presumption, and that he sought to bear Rule over his Brethren Bishops. When this Censure had passed upon him, he is degraded and shut up in Prison. *William Schevez* is after promoted to his Place, and consecrated upon the Passion Sunday in *Lent* at *Holy-rood-house*, the King being present: He likewise received the Title and Faculty of Legate, and is confirmed Primate of the Realm; notwithstanding the Impediments objected to *Patrick Graham* by the Churchmen concerning that same Dignity and Preheminence: *So various and deceitful are the Ways of Men.*

The King being slow to Action, and more inclined to a solitary Form of Life, than to Travel and Business; his Brothers being Princes of unquiet and restless Spirits, to whom publick Employments were Recreations; and withal being Ambitious, Prodigal, desirous of Rule, and to be Governours of the People themselves, and Kings in Fact, however their elder Brother was in Title; they set themselves altogether to study Novations, and bring the King in Contempt with his Subjects, and divert their Minds and Love towards him. To this effect, they had drawn, by their Towardness and Familiarity, many of the young Nobles and Gentlemen to follow them. The King was obnoxious to some publick Scandals, for by his too great Frugality, Care to increase his Treasure, and Study of Purchasing, by Taxations, Sale of Church Benefices, and too exact taking up of Fines, and Supervaluation of Wards, he had gotten the Name of Covetous, and was in no small Distaste among the Commons. *Edward* King of *England*, that the *Scots* by the Instigation of the *French*, should not trouble his new and scarce settled Government, employing all his Counsels and Diligence to divide them amongst themselves; wrought not a little on the unquiet Spirits of these young Men. The Duke of *Albany* having been taken upon the Seas by the *English*, was honourably intertained by him, and with great Hopes sent home; after which time King *Edward* and he kept always private Intelligence together. The Duke being promoted to the keeping of the Castle of *Dunbar* and Town of *Berwick*; the King of *England*, to insinuate himself into his Affection, was wont to whisper unto such who loved him, that if his Brother kept not fair with *England*, he would one Day set him in his Place upon his Royal Throne.

At this Time the King was served by Men, whom his Opinion of their Worth and Love towards him had advanced to Places, and whose Fortunes and Estates wholly depended upon his Safety, and who were less apt to do him Harm. His Council was likewise of Men approved for their Affection to him; and thus secluding great Men from his Familiarity and Affairs, he gave them Cause of Offence. His Brothers long masking their Ambition under Discontentment, stir the Malecontents to complain against the Government, which ordinarily falleth forth, not because a People is not well governed, but because Great Ones would govern themselves. These upbraided the King with inglorious Sloth, and endeavour by his Dishonour to increase the Credit of his Brothers. These spared not to speak Evil of him every where, and what they pleased of his Ministers and Favourites: They said, "He neither used Rule nor Moderation in his Proceedings; That his Council was base, and of Men of no great Account, who consulted only to humour him; That a Mason swayed a Kingdom (this was *Robert Cochran*, a Man Courageous and Bold, first known to the King by his Valour in a single Combat, and after from an Architect, or Surveyor of his Buildings, preferred to be of his Council) "a filthy Wretch sway'd the Soul of a great King, and curbed it, as it were interdicted or charmed to his Pleasure. His Contributions were the Rewards of Parasites, to whom Fortune, not Merit



“rit gave Growth and Augmentation; That Honours wept over such base Men who had not  
 “deserved them; and the stately Frames of ancient Houses upbraided with Reproaches the slender  
 “Merits of those new Upstarts who enjoyed them; That he began to look downwards  
 “into every sordid Way of enriching himself; That his Privadoes abused him in every Thing,  
 “but in nothing more than in making him believe, what was plotting against them, was a-  
 “gainst his Person and Authority; and that it was not them his Brothers and the Nobility  
 “sought to pull down, but his Sovereignty.

His Counsellors, Servants, and such who loved him, having long busied their Wits to save  
 their Master's Reputation, and that no Shadow of his Weakness should appear to the Common  
 People, understanding by whom these Rumours were first spread abroad, and observing many  
 of the Nobility and Gentry to favour the Proceedings of his Brothers, not daring disclose them-  
 selves to the King what their Suspicions made them fear would come to pass, knowing him na-  
 turally Superstitious, and an Admirer and Believer of Divinations, suborn an aged Woman,  
 one Morning as he went a Hunting, to approach him, and tell, she had by Divination, *That he*  
*should beware of his nearest Kinsmen; that from them his Ruine was likely to come.* This was  
 no sooner told when the Woman was shifted, and some who were upon the Plot began to  
 comment the Prophecy of his Brothers. A Professor of Physick, for his Skill of Divination  
 brought from Germany, and promoted to some Church-benefice, about that same time told  
 the King, *That in Scotland a Lyon should be devoured by his Whelps.* William Schevez, then Arch-  
 bishop of St. Andrew's, by way of Astrological Predictions, put him in a fear of imminent  
 Dangers from his Kindred, though truly he had his Knowledge by Geomancy and good Infor-  
 mations upon Earth, by the Intelligence between the Nobility and Church-men.

Many such like Aspersions being laid upon the King, the People cried out, that he had only  
 for his Fellow-companions Astrologers and Sooth-sayers, whom, as Occasion served, he preferred to  
 Church-benefices and Bishopricks. Patrick Graham, then Prisoner in *Dumfermling*, a Man deso-  
 late and forgotten, as if there had not been such a Man in the World, taking the Opportunity  
 of the Rumours of the Time, sent a Letter to the King, which contained;

“That the Misery of his Imprisonment was not so grievous unto him as the sad Reports  
 “which he heard of his Majesty's Estate; he was hardly brought to believe them, but by his  
 “long Detention and Imprisonment, he was assured his great Enemy was in great Credit with  
 “him. That he had brought the King very low in making him jealous of his Brothers, by gi-  
 “ving Trust to his vain Divinations; and no wonder these Arts bring forth Dissentions, which  
 “have their Precepts from the Father of Lyes and Discord. To foment Discord among Bro-  
 “thers, was reproachful to Religion, and outrageous to Policy; to seek to know Things to come  
 “by the Stars, was great Ignorance, and that Oracles leave a Man in a Wilderness of Folly.  
 “That there was no other Difference betwixt Necromancy and Astrology, saving that in the  
 “one, Men run voluntarily to the Devil, and in the other ignorantly. Humanity attains not  
 “to the Secrets above; and if it did, it is not wise enough to divert the Wisdom of Heaven,  
 “which is not to be resisted, but submitted unto; That never any had Recourse to these Arts,  
 “but they had fatal Ends; That Almighty Providence permitting that to befall them out of  
 “his Justice of Necessity, which before the Oracle was sought, was scarce Contingent; That  
 “he should rest upon the Almighty's Providence, and then all Things would succeed well  
 “with him, whose Favours would waite him out of the Surges of Uncertainties.

After this free opening of his Mind, Patrick Graham was removed out of *Dumfermling* to the  
 Castle of *Loch-levin* (a Place renowned long after by the Imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scot-  
 land) where in a short time he left the Miseries of this World.

The People now thoroughly deceived and incensed against their King, the most audacious of  
 the Nobility had brought his Brothers on the Way of taking the Government to themselves,  
 their Power being able to perform what their Ambition projected; and the Murmuring of the  
 People seeming to applaud any Insurrections. The Earl of Mar, young and rash, purblind in  
 foreseeing the Events of Things, is stirred up to begin the Tragedy; some of the Nobility of  
 his Faction being present, with more Liberty than Wisdom, he broke out in menacing and  
 undecent Speeches, as, *That his Brother did wrong to Majesty in keeping near him, and being so*  
*familiar with such contemptible Fellows, as these of his Bed-chamber and Officers;* withal railing  
 against the Government of the State and Court. The King passionately resenting his Words,  
 caused remove him from his Presence and he persevering in his Railing, was committed to the  
 Castle of *Craigmillar*, where surmising that he was in a Prison, his Anger turned into a Rage, his  
 Rage kindled a Fever, and his Fever advanced to a Phrensy. This Sickness increasing, that he  
 might be more near to the Court and his Friends, in the Night he is transported to the *Canon's*  
*Gate in Edinburgh.* The King compassionate of his Disease, sendeth his Physicians to attend him;  
 they, to restore his Understanding, which was molested, open some Veins of his Head and Arms;  
 in which Time, whether by his own Disorder and Misgovernment in his Sickness, the Bands being



loosed which tyed the lancing; or, that they took too great a Quantity of Blood from him, he fainted, and after swooning, died unawares amongst the Hands of his best Friends and Servants. These who hated the King, gave out that he was taken away by his Command, and some Writers have recorded the same; but no such Faith should be given unto them, as to *William Elphington* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, who was living in that Time, and whose Records we have followed, who for his Place could not but know, and for his Profession would not but deliver the very Truth. Certain Witches and Sorcerers being taken and examined, and convicted of Sorcery at this Time, and being suborned, they confessed that the Earl of *Mar* had dealt with them in Prejudice of the King, and to have him taken away by Incantation. For the King's Image being framed in Wax, and with many Spels and Incantations baptized, and set unto a Fire, they persuaded themselves the King's Person should fall away as that Image consumed by the Fire; and by the Death of the King, the Brothers should reach the Government of the State; with such Vanities was the common People amused.

*Alexander* Duke of *Albany* imputing the Death of his Brother to the Favourites of the King, and avouching them to have been the Occasion of his Distraction, stirred the Nobility and People to revenge so foul a Deed. But whilst he keeps private Meetings with them of his Faction in the Night to facilitate their Enterprize, betrayed by some of his Followers, he is surprised, and imprisoned in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. Out of which, about the appointed Time of his Tryal, by the killing of his Keeper he escaped, and in a Ship which to that Effect was hired, sailing to the Castle of *Dumbar*, of which he had the keeping, he passed to *France*. After the Escape of the Duke of *Albany*, the Lord *Evandale* Chancellor of the Kingdom, raising the Power of the nearest Shires beleaguered the Castle of *Dumbar*. The Besieged unprovided of Victuals, as Men expecting no such Alterations, betake themselves in small Boats to the Sea, and came safe towards the Coasts of *England*. The Castle having none to defend it, is taken; some Gentlemen in Pursuit of the flying Souldiers, by their own Rashness perished.

The Kings of *Scotland* and *England* tossed along with civil Troubles, and affecting Peace with all their Neighbours, by an equal and mutual Consent of Thoughts, send at one Time Ambassadors to one another, who first conclude a Peace between the Two Nations; and that Posterity might be Partakers of this Accord, contract afterwards an Alliance between the Two Kings. It was agreed, that the Princess *Cecilia* youngest Daughter to King *Edward*, should marry with *James* Duke of *Rorhsay*, when they came to Years of Discretion. A Motion heard with great Acceptance; but it was thought by some familiar with King *Edward*, and in his most inward Councils, that really he never intended this Marriage, and that this Negotiation aimed only to temporize with *Scotland*, in Case that *Lewis* of *France* should stir up an Invasion of *England* by the King of *Scotland*. King *Lewis* at this Time had sent one Doctor *Ireland* a *Sorbonist*, to move King *James* to trouble the Kingdom of *England*, and to give over the projected Marriage; which when King *Edward* understood, knowing what a Distance was between Things promised and performed, to oblige King *James*, and ty him more strongly to the Bargain, that this Marriage might have more Sway, he caused for the present Maintenance of the Prince, and as it were a Part of the Dowry of Lady *Cecilia*, deliver certain Sums of Money to King *James*. Notwithstanding which Benevolence, the witty *Lewis* wrought so with the *Scottish* Nobility, that King *James* sent Ambassadors to the King of *England*, entreating him not to assist the Duke of *Burgundy* his Brother in Law against King *Lewis*, which if he refused to do, the Nobility of *Scotland*, who were now turned insolent, would constrain him by Reason of the ancient League between the *French* and the *Scots*, to assist the *French*.

The Duke of *Albany*, during his Abode in *France*, had married a Daughter of the Earl of *Bullagne* (she was his Second Wife, his first having been a Daughter of the Earl of *Orkney*, a Lady of great Parentage and many Friends) who incessantly importuned King *Lewis* to aid the Duke for the recovery of his Inheritance and Places in the State of *Scotland*, out of which he was kept by the evil Counsellors of his Brother. *Lewis* minding to make good use of his Brother, and under-hand increasing Discords and Jealousies between him and the King of *England*, slighting his Suits, told him, He could not justify his taking of Arms to settle a Subject in his Inheritance; That Princes ought to be wrought upon by Persuasion, not Violence, and he should not trouble a King otherways than by Prayers and Petitions, which he would be earnest to perform. Upon this Refusal the Duke of *Albany* (having buried his Dutches) troubled with new Thoughts, came to *England*. King *Edward* with accustomed Courtesies receiving him, giveth him Hopes of Assistance, entering often in Communication with him how to divert the Kingdom of *Scotland* from the Invasion of his Dominions at the Desire of the *French*, the Agents and Traffickers of *Lewis* lying still in *Scotland*, and daily bribing and soliciting the *Scots* Nobility to oblige the *English* to stay at Home. The Duke freely, and in the worst Sense revealed the Weakness of his Kingdom, "That his King was opinionative, and had nothing of a Prince in him but the Name: His ungoverned Spirit disclaimed to listen to the temperate Counsel of sober Men, obeying only his own Judgment. Such who govern'd under him, were mean Persons and of no Account, Great only by his Favour and endowed with little



little Virtue, who ruling as they listed, and excluding all others, made Use of his Authority for their own Profit and Advantage. The Nobility were Malecontents, and affected a Change in the Government; which might be easily brought to pass by the Assistance of King Edward. If he would help to raise some civil Broils and Dissention in the Nation itself, he needed not to be in Fear that they could or would trouble his Country by any Invasion. The King hearing the Duke manifest what he most affected, approving his Judgment, promised him all Necessaries, and what he could desire to accomplish the Design: And he undertaketh by some fair Way to traffick with the Nobility of Scotland for an Alteration of the present Form of Government. After a Dangerous Intelligence, the Lords of Scotland, who under the shadow of the publick Good, but really out of their Disdain and particular Interests, conspired against the King, sent the Duke Word, "The Golden Age could not be fram'd, nor Arms taken for the Good of the Common-wealth, nor the State alter'd, without the sequestering of those from the King who misgovern'd him. And these could not be remov'd by that Power which was amongst themselves, without great Danger and Trouble, considering the King's Faction and the Malignant Party. If King Edward would agree to the raising of an Army in England, in Favour of the Duke of Albany, and for restoring him to his Places and Inheritance, out of which he was most unjustly ejected: And other Pretences, of which they should afford the Occasions; which no way should do Harm to the Kingdom of Scotland, disorder'd already, and laid waste, more by the Licence of a Tyrant in Peace, then it could have been by War; and at this Time bestow upon them Favours, as they might one Day hereafter challenge to receive the like, the Nobility of Scotland should be ready with another Army, not to Fight, but to seize upon the King's Favourites, and Misgovernours of the State: For which the English should have many Thanks. That this Enterprize could not but prove most successful, the Hatred of the Commons considered against such violent Oppressions. The King was fallen into so low Esteem, that assaulted by the English, he would be constrain'd by the Submission of his Crown to intreat for Safety. The King of England, understanding this was to touch the finest String of State and Dominion (for it is a Matter of much Consequence and main Importance to defend the Subjects of another Prince; for under this Mask and Pretence of protecting the Liberties of a People, of Assistance and Aid, an Usurpation and Oppression of all Liberty might be hidden; and many have established and settled themselves in those Kingdoms, which they came to relieve from Tyranny, and the Oppression of their Rulers, keeping by Force what was granted to them at first by way of Trust, and under the Colour of Helping, usurped a Sovereignty,) agreeth easily to what was demanded and resolv'd upon.

The Lords of the Association to play more covertly their Game, and mask their Intentions (the Commons ever suffering and paying for the Faults and Errors of the great Ones) give way for the breaking loose of the Borderers. Fierce Incursions by the English are made upon Scotland, and by the Scots upon England; some Villages on either Side are burnt. The Secrecy to this Business, which was inviolably observed, was of great Importance, which is the principal Knot and Tye of great Affairs. Rumours are spread, that the Dukes of Gloucester and Albany, with James late Earl of Dowglas, and Alexander Jerdan and Patrick Halyburton, Men proscrib'd, and upon whose Heads a Price was set, were at Anwick with a powerful Army, and in their March towards Kelso. The King awaked out of his Trances by the Alarms of his Nobility and Clamours of the People, maketh Proclamations to all between Sixty Years and Sixteen to meet him at Edinburgh, and to be in Readiness to oppose their old Enemies of England now come upon the Borders.

After many Delays and much loytering, an Army is assembled by the Nobility, which consisted of \_\_\_\_\_, and a Number of Carts charged with small Ordinance. New Incursions being blazed to have been made by the English, the King amidst these Troops marched to Lawder. The Army was encamped, and all Things ordered the best Way the Occasion could suffer them, little or nothing being left to Fortune, if the English should invade, whom the Lords knew were not at all yet gathered, and though gathered, and in a Body, and upon the Borders, or nearer, would never invade them.

The King at this time is marvellously perplexed, and become suspicious of the Intentions of his Nobility in this Army: In this Confusion of Thoughts, he fell upon Two Extreame. In his Demeanor and Conversation too familiar and inward with his old Domestick Servants and Favourites, which rendred them insolent (believing the bare Name of King to be sufficient, whilst Weakness and Simplicity had made him despised, and them hated) and too retired, reserved, and estranged from his Nobility, which made them malicious.

This he did, as his Pensiveness conjectured, that his Nobles should not attempt any Thing to the Prejudice of his Royal Authority, independent of any Council. But what he most feared came to pass; he resolv'd and dispatched all Matters by his Cabinet-Council; where the Surveyor of his Buildings was better acquainted with the Affairs of the State than the gravest of his Nobility. This preposterous Course of Favour made the great Men of the Kingdom to fall headlong upon their rash, tho' long projected, Attempt. After many private Conferences in their Pavilions,



vilians, the Chiefs of the Insurrection, as the Earls of *Angus*, *Lennox*, *Huntley*, the Lords *Gray*, *Lile* and others, about Midnight come together in the Church of *Lancker*, with many Barons and Gentlemen. Here every one of them urging the Necessity of the Times, and the Dangers the Common-wealth was like to fall into, requireth speedy Resolutions, and having before premeditated, deliberated and concluded what to follow, they draw up a League and Confederation of mutual Adherence in this Order.

“ Forasmuch as the King suffereth himself to be governed by mean Persons, and Men of no Account, to the Contempt of the Nobility, and his best Subjects, and to the great Loss of the Commons: The Confederates considering the imminent Dangers of the Kingdom, shall endeavour to separate the King’s Majesty from these naughty Upstarts, who abuse his Name and Authority, and despise all good Men, and have a Care that the Common-wealth receive no Dammage. And in this Quarrel they shall all stand mutually every one to the Defence of another.

The Plot agreed upon, and the Confederacy sworn, the Chiefs of them in Arms enter the King’s Pavilion, where, after they had challenged him of many Disorders in his Government, contrary to his Honour, the Laws and Good of his Kingdom, they took Sir *William Rogers*, a Man, from a Musician, promoted to be a Knight, *James Hommil*, *Robert Cochran*, who of a Surveyor of his Works was made Earl of *Mar*, or as some mitigate that Title, Intromittor with, and Taker up of the Rents of that Earldom, by whose Device (some Authors have alledged) Copper-money had been coined, by which a Dearth was brought amongst the Commons; which (as others have recorded) was an unjust Imputation, for that Copper-money was coined in the Minority of the King, in the Time of the Government of the *Boys*, with others. All these being convicted by the Clamours of the Army, were immediately hanged upon the River *Lidder*. *John Ramsay* a Youth of Eighteen Years of Age, by the Intreaties, Prayers and Embraces of the King was preserved. Thus they, the late Objects of Envy, were turn’d and become the Objects of Pity and Compassion. The Body of the Commons and the Gentry of the Kingdom, by this notorious Act at *Lancker*, being engaged, and being made Partakers of the Quarrel of the discontented Noblemen, and for their own Safety tyed to second and assist all their Intentions, and to advance their Ends, the King is conveyed to *Edinburgh*, and shortly after he either inclosed himself in the *Maiden Castle*, as his Lodging, or, which is more probable, was there, by the contrary Faction committed as into his Prison, the Earl of *Arboly*, and some other Lords being appointed to attend him.

During this Time, the general Humour of the Kingdom being ripe for Mischief, *Alexander Duke of Albany* (every Thing falling right as it was plotted) prevailed so with King *Edward*, that the Duke of *Glocester*, the King of *England*’s Brother, with the Title of Lieutenant-General for him, set forwards toward *Scotland*. The Army consisted of Two and Twenty Thousand and Five Hundred. In his Retinue there went of the Nobility, *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, *Thomas Lord Stanely*, and with them was the Duke of *Albany*. The Earl of *Dowglas* came not, being reserved for an After-game. The Duke of *Albany* having been before Commander of *Berwick*, and a Man who was still in his Absence beloved of that Garrison, diverted the Duke of *Glocester* from *Anwick*, where he had incamped in *June*, to assail the Town of *Berwick*. By his Intelligence they enter the Town without great Opposition, and it is given up to their Discretion. The Castle by the Lord *Hailes*, then Captain, was made good against their Assaults. The Duke of *Glocester* foreseeing that this Siege would spend much Time, considering the Uncertainty of Events, and being invited to march forward by the Lords of the Association of *Scotland*, committing the Charge of assailing the Castle to the Lord *Stanely*, Sir *John Elrington*, and Sir *William Parr*, with the Body of the Army marched directly to *Edinburgh*.

The Country lay open to their Invasion, and no Army taking the Field to oppose them, they came into *Scotland* the Twentieth Day of *August* 1482. The Army encamped at *Restalrig*, the Duke himself entered the Town of *Edinburgh*, which at the Intreaty of the Duke of *Albany*, who was his Harbinger, he spar’d, receiving such Presents as the Citizens offer’d unto him: His Entry seeming rather a Triumph than hostile Invasion. The King being shut up from him and immured in the Castle, the Duke by a publick Writing at the Market Places gave out high Demands; “ That King *James* should perform what he had covenanted with his Brother King *Edward*, that he should give Satisfaction for the Dammage done the *English*, during the last Inroads of the Borderers, which if he refused to accomplish, he as Lieutenant to his Brother, was to exact of him, and take Satisfaction of his Country, denouncing open War, and proclaiming all Hostility against him. King *James* forsaken of his People, and wrong’d by his Lords, laying aside his Passions, and taking to him more moderate and discreet Thoughts, as a Man in Prison, answered nothing to his Demands.

The Lords, who by their King’s Misfortune had reckoned their Felicity, having obtain’d what they chiefly desir’d, to obviate the common and last Danger, the Thralldom of their Kingdom



dom by these Strangers whom they had drawn into the Country for the Recovery of their Liberties, assemble themselves together at *Hadington* with some Companies, not to fight but to supplicate. They sent the Lord *Darnley* and the elected Bishop of *Murray*, to intreat a Suspension of Arms, and require a firm and lasting Peace for the Time to come. "The beginning of the War, and taking of Arms was for the Safety of this the Neighbour Country of *England*, miserably thral'd by a licentious Prince: There was nothing more unworthy of a King or Republick, than not to keep their promis'd Faith. The *English* could have no Colour for executing their Indignation further upon this Country, which already by the Rapine of their own Men was impoverish'd and unmanur'd: Only now to be recovered by entertaining Peace with their Neighbours, and amongst themselves. They require "That the Marriage contracted between the Prince of *Rothsay* and Lady *Cecilia* King *Edward's* Daughter might be accomplish'd, when it should please the King of *England*, and the Age of the Two Princes might suffer it. For any Spoil taken in these last Incursions, the Interest consider'd upon both Sides, Satisfaction should be given out of the publick Contributions. The Duke of *Glocester*, as forgetting and seeming not to know the Grounds of their coming into the Country, and looking to nothing more than his own Fame and Glory, Answer'd, "His coming into *Scotland*, was to right the Honour of his Country so often violated; and to restore the Duke of *Albany*, unjustly commanded to Exile, to his own native Soil, and the Dignity of his Birth. As concerning the Marriage of the Prince of *Scotland* with the Daughter of *England*, he knew not how his Brother's Resolution stood at the present; whereupon he requir'd Repayment of the Moneys lent to their King upon the first Agreement; and withal a Delivery of the Castle of *Berwick* up into his Hands: Or if they could not make the Castle to be render'd, they should give their Oaths upon the Holy Evangelists, that they should neither assist the Besieged, nor harm the Besiegers, till the Castle were either by Force taken, or upon fair Conditions rendred.

The Lords having received this Answer, yielded freely to all the Conditions, except that they found themselves perplexed in the rendring of *Berwick*; it being a Town of old appertaining to the Crown of *Scotland*. Though by Force and Violence the *English* had a long Time kept it, that did not take away their Right and Title. After much contesting, agreeing to the surrender of *Berwick*, they desired that the Walls of the Town should be demolished, that it might not be a Place of Tyranny and Incursion over their bordering Countries. No Arguments could prevail against the Duke of *Glocester's* Resolutions, and being stronger in Power, he persever'd in his Demands, and in all Likelihood this was agreed upon between the Duke of *Albany* and the Confederate Lords, and the *English*, before their entering *Scotland*. Thus the Castle and Town of *Berwick* returned to the *English* the 24. of August 1482. after it had been delivered by Queen *Margaret*, to gain Sanctuary for her Husband King *Henry*, (when expelled *England*) and remained in the Possession of the *Scots* Twenty and One Years.

They likewise appointed a Day for Restitution of all the Money, lent by King *Edward*, and promised upon a full Discussion to make Satisfaction for all Damages done the *English* by any In-road of the *Scottish* Borderers. For the Duke of *Albany's* Provision, whose Safety was principally pretended in this Expedition, a general Pardon was promised for him and all his Followers, together with an Abolition of all Discontents: Whereby he had given unto him the Castle of *Dumbar*, with the Earldoms of *Mar* and *March*; he should be reinvested in all his former Dignities and Places, and by Consent of the Nobility of *Scotland*, he was proclaim'd Lieutenant of the Kingdom.

The Peace being proclaimed, the Duke of *Glocester* in all Solemnity of Greatness returned towards *London*, being welcomed by the King with many Demonstrations of great Joy: He to show how much he approved the Conditions of this Peace, went solemnly in Procession from St. *Steven's* Chappel, now the Parliament House, accompanied with the Queen his Sister, and a mighty Retinue of the greatest Lords into *Westminster* Hall. Where in Presence of the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *James Liddale*, Ambassadors extraordinary from *Scotland*, the Peace was ratified. At the Return of the *Scots* Ambassadors to their Country, King *Edward* sent an Herald with them, who in his Master's Name gave over the Marriage contracted between the Lady *Cecilia* and the Prince of *Rothsay*, and required the Money, which had been delivered upon Hopes of Consummation, to his King. The Citizens of *Edinburgh* had given their Bond for the Redelivery, and a Day being granted to them for the Payment, they at the appointed Day intirely delivered the Sum. Some thought King *Edward* recalled this Marriage of a Suspicion he conceived, that the Ambition of the Duke of *Albany*, and the Hatred of the Subjects against their King, amidst the manifold Distractions of the Realm, might hazard the Succession of the Prince of *Rothsay* to the Crown. But King *Edward* having gained what he had endeavoured most to acquire, a Division amongst the Nobles of *Scotland*, and by this a Security from their Assisting the *French*, rejected the Match. Besides the Duke of *Glocester*, who, after his coming into *Scotland*, was laying the Foundations of usurping the Crown of *England*, his Brother once dead, thought the Alliance of his Brother's Daughter with a King of *Scotland*, too strong a Support to that Race,



which he was to declare Bastards, and a Rock upon which he was confident, he should make a fearful Shipwreck. Neither, his Brother's Daughter being married to a King of such Martial and turbulent Subjects as the People of *Scotland*, durst he ever attempt the taking away of her Brothers: And King *Edward* in Neglect of this Match committed a greater Error of State than he did in his marrying the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, and forsaking the Lady *Bona* Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*.

According to the Records of some Authors whilst the King is kept Nine Months in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the Duke of *Albany*, the Lord *Evandale* Chancellor, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrew's*, the Earl of *Arbole* his Uncle (who for the Preservation of his Person, and Honour of his Office, accepted the Charge to attend him in that Fortress) governed the State.

The King (say the honest Records) had all Honour which appertained to a Prince, save that he could not come abroad, and none was permitted to speak unto him, except in the Audience of some one of his Lords Keepers; and that his Chamber Doors were shut before the setting of the Sun, and long after the rising opened. Proclamations are publish'd in his Name and Authority, and other publick Writings. Such who only heard of him could not but take him to be a free and absolute Prince; when nearly view'd, he was but a King in Phantasy, and his Throne but a Picture; the Regal Authority being turned into a Cloak to cover the Passions of those who did govern.

The Duke of *Albany* daily importuned by the Solicitations, Prayers and Tears of the Queen (a calm and temperate Lady) for her Husband's Liberty; finding himself not so respected by the other Governours as his Birth and Merits did deserve; being a Man who delighted in nothing more than in Changes and Novations of Court and State; after so many Scorns and Rebukes offered to his Brother and King, commiserating his long Sufferings, and believing that good Turns would make past Offences be forgotten, and that recent Benefits were sufficient to blot away old Injuries, withall Remembrance of former Discontents, whilst the other Governours at *Stirling* securely passed the Time, posted in the Night to *Edinburgh*. Here a Meeting being appointed of some of his Friends and Vassals, who knew nothing of his Intentions, by the Assistance of the Citizens of *Edinburgh* (Men intirely loving their King, and devoted to him all the Time of the Insurrection of his Nobles) who gave the first Assault, (yet was it rather their Intelligence than Force) the Castle is surpris'd, and the King and all his Servants set at Liberty. This unexpected and noble Act of the Duke of *Albany*, having so fortunate a Success, brought a mighty Change on the Court and State. The King is now again reinstall'd, and hath his Residence in his own Palace, to which many Noblemen and Gentlemen have frequent Concourse; rejoicing to see such evident Tokens of Love pass between the Two Brothers, if their Affection could have continued. The Provost and Baillies of *Edinburgh*, in Recompence of their Service, were made Sheriffs within all the Bounds of their own Territories, and rewarded with other Privileges contained in that Patent, which they call their *Golden Charter* 1482. The Lords of the contrary Faction, who remained at *Stirling*, by this new Accident, betook themselves to new Thoughts and Considerations, every Man full of Fears and Repinings flying to his own Dwelling-place, and conceiving a great Hatred against the Duke of *Albany*. They said, *he was inconstant, rash, mad, in setting at Liberty the Man who would prove his Executioner, and one who would never forget any prosper'd Injury: That if he perished before them, it was but his own just Deserving and Procurement.* The Duke contemning those Reproaches, and answering their Calumnies and evil Words with Patience and good Deeds, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Angus*, studied a Reconciliation between the King and his discontented Lords. And his Endeavours had such good Success, that in a short Time after this Atonement, some of them turned so familiar and intimate with the King, that, like the Ivy, they began to sap the Wall by which they had been supported: They made the Wound of the King's old Jealousies rankle again, and added Poison to former Discontents; remembering him of the Unnaturalness of his Brother's first Rebellion, and assuring him, "That his ancient Ambition had yet more Power over him than his new Fears had of Honesty and Respect. That howsoever he shewed outwardly the Arguments of a reconciled Brother, he loved yet to govern, and aimed at the Crown. That he had wrought his Liberty to bring a greater Confusion in the State than he had ever done before. The King who ever had a watchful Eye over his reconciled Enemies; and who desired to be freed and fairly quitted of them all, gave Way to their Calumnies. And they after long Deliberation resolved upon a Plot, to bring the Duke within the Compass of Law, and summoned him to answer upon Treason. And this was the rendring of the Town of *Berwick* to the *English*; which they undertook to prove was only by his Intelligence, Procuration, and being in Company with the Duke of *Glocester*, in that Expedition. Tho' the Duke had an absolute and general Pardon and an Abolition for all was past, and the King's Hand at it, they doubted not to annul and make it void. All being done by a King constrained by a powerful Army, and a close Prisoner, which Writing could not oblige any private Man, far less a King; what he then bargained was upon Constraint, and yielded unto upon Hopes of saving his Life, and an Act exacted by Force. The Duke of *Albany*,



*Albany* finding, by the Malice and Detraction of a Malignant Faction, his Brother's Countenance altered towards him; and that Danger was the Requital of his late setting him at Liberty, the established Reconciliation being shaken by Suspicions and Fancy of Revenge, obeying Necessity, fled to his Castle of *Dumbar*, out of which he came to *England*, to present to King *Edward* and the Duke of *Glocester* the Consideration of his Grievances.

In his Absence he is convicted of many Points of Treason, besides the being accessory to the taking of *Berwick* by the *English*. As, His dangerous and long Intelligence with the King of *England*; his sending of many Messengers at all Occasions unto him. That without any Safe-conduct or Pass from his Brother, and not so much as acquainting him, he had left the Country, and come into *England* to devise Conspiracies against his King and native Kingdom. The Lord *Creighton* as his Friend, Associate and Accomplice, is forfeited with him, against whom Informations were given, That often and divers Times, under the Pretence of Hunting, secretly with the Duke of *Albany* he rode into *England*, and there meeting with Commissioners sent by King *Edward*, he deliberated of Matters concerning Novations and of the altering the State; That there he kept Appointments with James Earl of *Dowglas*, the often quenched Fire-brand of his Country: That in Spite of the King's Forces sent there to lie in Garrison, he kept the Castle of *Creighton*. The greatest Discontent the King conceived against him was Love to one of his Sisters, and some Feminine Jealousies. When the Duke understood the Procedure against himself, and the Lord *Creighton*, and that for their Contumacy and not appearing to answer, and give in their Defences, they were convicted of Treason, and their Lands to be seized upon; he caused give up the Castle of *Dumbar*, of which he was Lieutenant, to King *Edward*, who immediately placed by Sea a Garrison in it.

About this Time *Edward* King of *England* left this World 1483, and his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, did first take the Name of Protector and Governour of the Kingdom of *England*, and after his Brother's Sons being put in the Tower, and their Mother the Queen taking Sanctuary, in the Month of *June*, possessed himself of the Crown.

The Duke of *Albany* finding that *Richard* by his Change of Fortune had not changed his Affection towards him, implored his Aid in restoring him to his own, and repairing not his Wrongs alone, but a Wrong done in his sufferings to the King of *England*, since there was now an open Breach of the Truce and Peace so solemnly by him set down, and confirmed by his Brother. If he could be furnished but with a few Number of choice Men of Reputation and Power to pass into *Scotland*, and take a Trial of the Minds and good Will of his Friends and Confederates, he doubted not, at his entering the Country, to find Numbers, who, by his Presence, would hazard upon the most desperate Dangers.

*Richard* finding the Man his Suppliant, with whom he endeavoured once an intire Friendship, and whose Advancement in Authority he had most studied, condescendeth that Five Hundred Men and Horses should be chosen upon the Borders, with others who were Outlaws, and necessitated sometime to make Incursions, and with James the old Earl of *Dowglas*, a Man well known and renowned in the West-borders, should make an In-road into *Scotland*.

The Two and Twenty Day of *July*, the banished Champions, having chosen a good Number of their Borderers, put forward towards *Lochmaben* to surprize a Fair, spoil a publick Mercat, seize upon all the Buyers and Sellers, which here meet and traffick every St. *Magdalen's* Festival. Under Pretence of Devotion and the Liberty of Trading many *English* had hither resorted. At the Twelfth Hour of the Day, when the Merchants and Country People were in greatest Security, the Burse is invaded, and not Blood but Wares sought after. The Laird of *Johnston* who was Warden, and the Laird of *Cock-pool*, with many stout Borderers, having surveyed and ridden through the Places where the People were met, to prevent and hinder all Disorders and Dangers, at the Noise of an Incursion of the *English*, dispatch Posts to the adjacent Bounds for Supply; and in the mean Time rencounter the Plunderers of the Fair. Here it is fought with greater Couragethan Force, and in a long continued Skirmish, the Danger of the Loss stirring up and inciting the Parties, as much as Fame and Glory.

The Day was near spent, leaving the Advantage to either side disputable, when the Supply of fresh Men come to defend their Country and Friends, turned the Fortune of the Fight, and put the *English* Borderers all to the Rout. The Duke of *Albany*, by the Swiftnes of his Horse, and the good Attendance of his Servants, winneth *English* Ground; but the Earl of *Dowglas* loaden and heavy with Years and Arms, is taken by *Robert Kirkenpatrick* (who for that Service got the Lands of *Kirk-michael*) and brought as in Triumph to *Edinburgh*. It is recorded, that when the Earl was come into the King's Presence, he turn'd his Back and refused to look him in the Face, considering the many Outrages he had perpetrated against his Father, and this late Offence. The King taken with the goodly Personage, Gravity and great Age of the Man, commiserating his long Patience and cross Fortune, being in his young Days designed to be a Church-man, confined him as in a free Prison in the Abbey of *Lundores*.

Besides he considered, that when Occasion served, he might bring him out of this Solitariness, and in these turbulent Times, by his Counsel and Presence, play more advantageously



his Game of State, being a Man of long Experience in the Affairs of the World, and the most learned of all his Nobility. He was now become tired of the Earl of *Angus*, the Remembrance of his first Offence remaining deeply ingraven in his Heart, and to counterpoise his Greatness, this was the only Weight. The Duke of *Albany* found little better Entertainment in *England*, the Battle being lost, some Men taken and killed (this being the first Road upon *Scotland* under the Reign of *Richard*, who had been formerly so fortunate in his own Person) his Fame injur'd, and Reputation by this diminished, the Duke began to be disliked of him, and was not received with that Kindness he was wont; whereupon by the Assistance and Convoy of *John Liudale*, he secretly retired to *France*.

After the Road of *Lochmaben* sundry Incursions are made by the *Scots* upon the *English* Borders, and by the *English* upon the *Scottish*: The Champaign Ground is scoured, Houses are burnt, Booties taken, with great Loss to both, and little Advantage to any of the Parties. *Richard* having his Reign in the Infancy, and not yet settled nor come to any Growth and Maturity, being obnoxious to the Scandal of the Murder of his Brother's Sons, and possessed with Fears of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* then remaining in *France*, who by all honest and good Men was earnestly invited to come Home, and hazard one Day of Battel for a whole Kingdom, knowing it necessary for the Advancement of his Designs to have Peace with all his Neighbour Princes, to render himself more secure and safe at Home, and terrible to his Enemies Abroad, sendeth Ambassadors to *Scotland* to treat a Peace, or a Suspension of Arms for some Years. King *James* no more softly rocked in the Cradle of State than *Richard*, cheerfully accepteth this Embassy; for by a Peace he may a little calm the stormy and wild Minds of his tumultuous Subjects, reducing them to a more quiet Fashion of Living, and seclude his Rebels and banisht Subjects from Entertainment in *England*, and all Places of Refuge and Sanctuary. The Two Kings agreeing in Substance, Commissioners are appointed to meet at *Nottingham* the Seventeenth Day of September. For the King of *Scotland* appeared the Earl of *Argile*, *William Elphinston* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, the Lord *Drummond* of *Stobhall*, the Lord *Oliphant*, *Archibald Whitelaw* Secretary, and *Duncan Dundas* Lyon King of Arms. For *Richard* of *England* appeared the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Northumbreland*, the Lord *Stanley*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, *John Gunthrope* Privy-Seal, *Thomas Barrow* Master of the Rolls, and *Sir Thomas Bryan* Chief Justice.

In the latter End of September these conclude a Peace between both Realms for the Space of Three Years: The same to begin at the rising of the Sun Sept. 29. in the Year 1484. and to continue unto the setting of the Sun on the 29 of Sept. in the Year 1487. During which Time, it was agreed, that not only all Hostility and War should cease between the Two Realms, but that also all Aid and Assistance against Enemies should be afforded.

It was agreed, The Town and Castle of *Berwick* should remain in the Hands of the *English* for the Space of the foresaid Term, with the same Bounds the *English* possessed.

That all other Castles, Holds and Fortresses, during the Term of Three Years, should remain in the Hands of those that held them at that present, the Castle of *Dumbar* only excepted, which the Duke of *Albany* delivered to the *English* when he left his Country. Which Castle, for the Space of Six Months, should be exposed to the Invasion of the *Scots*, if they could obtain it, and during the assaulting of this Castle, the Truce should not be broken. Neither should the *English* within the Castle do any Harm to the *Scots* dwelling thereabouts, except to those who invade the Castle, and at that Time. And that it should be lawful to any of the Parties to use all Stratagems, and extend their Power either for winning or defending the said Castle.

It was agreed, That no Traitor of either Realm should be received by any of the Princes of the other Realm; and if any Traitor or Rebel chance to arrive in either Realm, the Prince thereof should deliver him upon Demand made.

*Scots* abiding within the Realm of *England*, and sworn there to the King, may remain still, so their Names be made known to the King of *Scotland* within Forty Days.

If any Warden of either Realm shall invade the other's Subjects, he to whom such a Warden is subject shall within six Days, proclaim him Traitor, and certify the other Prince thereof within Twelve Days.

In every safe Conduct this Clause shall be contained, Providing always that the Obtainer of the safe Conduct be no Traitor.

If any of the Subjects of either Prince, do presume to aid and help, maintain and serve any other Prince, against any of the Contractors of this Truce, then it shall be lawful for him to whom he shew'd himself Enemy, to apprehend and attack the said Subject coming or tarrying within any of their Dominions.

The Collegues comprehended in the Truce, (if they would assent thereunto) on the *English* Part, were the King of *Castile*, the King of *Arragon*, the King of *Portugal*, the Arch-Duke of *Austria* and *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bretaign*. Upon the *Scottish* Part, *Charles* King of *France*, the King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and the Duke of *Guelderland*. This Treaty was appointed to be published the First of October, in all the great and notable Towns of both Realms.



It was agreed, That Commissioners should meet at Lochmaben the 18 of November, as well for Redress of Wrongs done on the West Marches, as for declaring and publishing the Peace, where the greatest Difficulty was to have it observed.

Richard after this Truce, intreated a Marriage between the Prince of *Rothsay*, eldest Son to King James, and Lady Anne de la Pool, Daughter to John Duke of Suffolk by his Sister. To this Effect Ambassadors meet at Nottingham, others say at York, and it is concluded. Writings thereupon being drawn up, ingrossed and seal'd, and Affiances made and taken up by Proctors and Deputies of both Parts, Lady Anne thereafter was stiled the Princess of *Rothsay*. But by the Death of her Uncle she enjoyed not long that Title.

After the League and intended Marriage, King James wrote friendly Letters to Richard concerning the Castle of *Dumbar*, Whether he could be content that the same should remain only Six Months in the Power of the *English*, or during the whole space of the Truce? That he was not minded to seek it by Arms during the Term of the whole Truce. Notwithstanding he earnestly required it out of the Bond of Love and Friendship between them, since it was given unto the *English* by Treason, and neither surprised nor taken in lawful War, it might be friendly rendred. Richard dally'd with him, and pass'd away that Purpose with complementing Letters all the Time of his Government, which was not long. For in the Year 1486 Henry Earl of *Richmond* came with some Companies out of France (of which that famous Warrior Bernard Stuart Lord *Aubigny*, Brother to the Lord *Darnley* in Scotland, had the leading) which by the resort of his Country-men turned into an Army, and rencountred Richard at *Bosworth*, where he was killed, and Henry proclaimed King of *England*: To which Victory it was uncertain whether Virtue or Fortune did more contribute.

Alexander Duke of *Albany* before this Disaster of Richard, at a Tirling with Lewis Duke of *Orleans*, by the Splinter of a Spear in his Head, had received his Death-wound, 1483. He was a Man of great Courage, an Enemy to Rest and Peace, delighting in constant Changes and Novations. He left behind him two Sons, John Duke of *Albany*, begotten of his second Marriage upon the Earl of *Bulloigne's* Daughter, who was Tutor to King James V. and Governour of Scotland, and Alexander born of the Earl of *Orkney's* Daughter his first Wife, Bishop of *Murray* and Abbot of *Scoon*: Into which Places he was intruded, to make the Government of his other Brother more peaceable.

Margaret the Queen about these Times, a good and vertuous Lady, died 1486. and was buried at *Cambuskenneth*, the 29. of February.

The Overthrow and Death of Richard being known abroad, King James, taking the Advantage of the Time, besieged the Castle of *Dumbar*. The garrison'd Soldiers finding no Relief nor Assistance from their Country, and ascertained of the Change of their Master, render'd up the Fort into the Hands of the Scots; it was of no great Importance to the *English*, and only served to be a fair Bridge of Treason for Scottish Rebels, and a Citadel of Conspiracies.

Henry King of *England* after his Victory and Coronation, sent Richard Fox Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir Richard Edgecomb Ambassadors to King James, for renewing the Truce, and if it were possible, to agree upon a stable and lasting Peace between the Realms, King James taking a Promise of the Secrecy of the Ambassadors, that what he imparted to them, should not be laid open to his Nobility, told, He earnestly affected a Peace with all his Neighbours, but above all others with their King, as much for his own Valour, as for the Honour and Interests of the Two Kingdoms: But he knew his People so stubborn and opposite to all his Designs, that if they understood his Mind and Resolutions, they would endeavour to cross his Intentions; wherefore publicly he could only condescend to Seven Years Truce, a long Peace being hardly obtained from Men brought up in the free Licence of War, who disdained to be restrained within the narrow Limits of Laws. Notwithstanding, they should undertake for him to King Henry, in the Word of a Prince, that this Truce, before the expiring of it should be renewed, and with all Solemnities again confirmed.

The Ambassadors respecting his Good-will towards their King, accepted the Conditions. Thus was there a Truce or Peace covenanted and confirmed for Seven Years to come between the Two Realms.

After so many Back-blows of Fortune and such Canvassing, the King enjoying a Peace with all his Neighbours Abroad, became exceeding Religious; the Miseries of Life drawing the Mind to the Contemplations of what shall be after it. During his Residence at *Edinburgh* he was wont to come in Procession from the Abby of *Holy-rood-house* to the Churches in the High-Town every Wednesday and Friday. By which Devotion he became beloved of his People; Nothing more winning their Hearts than the Opinion they have of the Sanctity of a Person. And that he did not this for the Fashion, nor Hypocritically, the Application of his Wit and Power to the Administration of strict Justice did prove; For he began to suppress the Insolencies of strong Oppressors, defend and maintain the Rights of the Poor, against Tyrants and Abusers of their Neighbours. He sitteth himself in Council daily, and disposeth Affairs of most Weight in his own Person.



In the Month of *October*, following the Peace with *England*, 1487. a Parliament was called, in which many Acts were made against Oppressors: Justices were appointed to pass through the whole Kingdom, and see Malefactors deservedly punished. Acts were made that no Convention of Friends should be suffered for the Accompanying and Defence of criminal Persons: But that every one attainted should appear at the mozt with Six Proctors; that, if found guilty, they should not be rest from Justice by strong Hand. Such of the Nobility, who feared and consequently hated him, finding how he had acquired the Love of his People by his Piety in the Observance of Religion, and his Severity in executing Justice, were driven unto new Meditations. They began to suspect he would one Day free himself from these turbulent Spirits, who could not suffer him to enjoy a Peace, nor reign. He had advanced at this Time to Offices of State and Places, Men whose Fortunes did wholly depend upon his Safety and Welfare: At which some Noblemen, whose Ambition was to be in publick Charge and of the Council, pretending to that out of Right, which was only due unto them by Favour, did highly storm and look upon those others with envious Eyes. The King thus falling again into his old Sickness, they bethought them how to renew their old Remedy. They were also jealous of the Remembrance of the Disservice they had done him, and that he would never forget old Quarrels; They were prepared and ready to make a Revolution of the State, but had not yet found their Center to begin Motion, nor a Ground for Rebellion. All this while there was not Matter enough for an Insurrection, nor to dispose the People's Hearts to a Mutiny.

The King delighted with his Buildings of the Castle of *Stirling*, and the Amenity of the Place, for he had raised there a fair and spacious Hall, and founded a College for Divine Service, which he named the Chappel Royal; and beginning to be posselt and taken up with the Religion of these Times, endeavoured to endow this Foundation with constant Rents and ample Revenues, and make this Rock the choice Sanctuary of his Devotions. The Priory of *Coldingham*, then vacant and fallen in his Hands, he annexed the same to his Chappel Royal, and procured an Act of Parliament that none of the Lieges should attempt to do contrary to this Union and Annexation, or to make any Impetration thereof at the Court of *Rome* under the Pain of Treason. The Priors of this Convent having been many Years of the Name of *Hume*, it was by the Gentlemen of that Name surmis'd, that they should be interested, and wronged in their Estates, by Reason of the Tithes, and other Casualties appertaining to this Benefice, if a Prior of any other Surname were promoted to this Place. The King being often petitioned and implored, that he should not alter the accusom'd Form of the Election of that Prior, nor remove it from their Name, nor suffer the Revenues to be otherways bestowed than they were wont to be of old; and he continuing in his Resolution of annexing them to the Chappel, after long Pausing and Deliberation amongst themselves, as Men stirred up by the Malecontents and a proud Faction, fit for any the most dangerous Enterprize, they proceed upon stronger Grounds to overturn his Intentions and divert his Purpose. The Lord *Hailes* and others of the Surname of *Hopburn*, had been their constant Friends, Allies and Neighbours; with them they enter into a Combination, that they should mutually stand to the Defence of one another, and not suffer any Prior to be received for *Coldingham*, if he were not one of their Two Surnames. This Covenant is first privately by some mean Gentlemen sworn, who after draw on their Chiefs to be of the Party. Of how small Beginnings doth a great Mischief arise! The Male-contented Lords knowing these Two Surnames to be numerous, active and powerful in those Parts of the Country where they remained, lay hold upon this Overture, and beginning from their Particulars, they make the Cause to be general; they spread Rumors abroad, "That the King was become terrible and not to be trusted; notwithstanding all his Pro-  
"testations and outward Demeanour, that he yet meditated Revenge, and had begun to invade  
"and shake the ancient Privileges of the *Humes*, more out of Spite and Discontent against  
"them for having assisted and followed the Lords of the Reformation of the State, than any In-  
"tention of the increasing the Rents of his new erected Chappel. That ere long he would be  
"avenged upon all whom he either knew were accessory, or suspected to have been upon the  
"Plot of *Lawder Bridge*, or his Commitment in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; that it was some-  
"time better to commit a Fault unpardonable, than venture under the Pardon; that the King  
"had taken a Resolution to live upon the People's Contributions, and give his own Revenues to  
"particular Men. The Faults of his Counsellors are highly exaggerated; they were base Persons,  
"and he himself given to Dissimulation, Misdevotion and Revenge; as Occasion served he  
"would remember old Wrongs: It was good to obey a King, but not to lay the Head upon a  
"Block to him; if a Man could save himself."

After a long Smother of Discontent and Hatred of the Nobility and People, Rancour break-  
ing daily forth into Seditions and Alterations; the Lord *Hume* and *Hailes* being the Ring-  
Leaders, many Noblemen and Gentlemen under feigned Pretences, especially the Courtes of  
swift Horses, keep frequent Meetings: Where they renew their Covenant agreed upon at  
*Lawder Church*, the Necessity of the Times and the Danger of the Common-wealth requiring  
it, and gave their Oaths, that at what Time soever the King should challenge them directly or  
indirectly, or wrong them in their Rights, Possessions, Places, or Persons, they should abide to-  
gether



gether as if they were all one body, espouse each other's Quarrels, and the Wrongs done to any one of them should be done to them all.

When the King understood the Confederacy of the Lords, to anticipate the Danger, he made Choice of a Guard for the Preservation of his Person and Servants, of which he made *John Ramsay of Balmain*, a Man whom he had preserved at *Lander*, and advanced to be Master of his Household at Court, Captain; giving him him a Warrant not to suffer any Man in Arms to approach the Court by some Miles. This, in stead of cooling, exasperated the Choler of the Malecontents, and stir'd them to assemble with numerous Retinues all in Arms. The King scarce believing the Minds of so many were corrupted, and perswading himself the Authority of the publick Name of a King would supply the want of some Power, summoned certain of them upon Forty Days to answer according to Law.

Of those some rent his Summonds, and beat shamefully his Heralds and Messengers for discharging their Offices: Others appeared, but with Numbers of their Adherents, Friends, Allies and Vassals. And here he found, that the Faults of great Delinquents are not without great Danger taken Notice of, and reprehended; he used some Stratagems to surpris the Heads and Chiefs of their Faction: But unadvisedly giving Trust to the Promises of those who lent their Ears, but not their Hearts to his Words, his Designs were discovered before they produced any Effect: His Secrets all laid open to his great Hatred and Disadvantage, the Discoverers taking themselves to the factious Rebels, and cherishing unkind Thoughts in all whom they saw distast with his Government. Perceiving himself betrayed, and his Intentions divulged, he remained in great Doubt to whom he should give Credit. The Nature and Manner of all Things changed by the League of the Confederates, he thought it high Time to remove a little further from that Torrent which might have overwhelmed him, and made them Masters of his Person. To temporize and win Time, he caused furnish the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*, with Provision of Victual, Ammunition, and Garrisons to defend them from the Dangers of War; he resolved to make his Abode beyond the River of *Forth*, and to leave the South Parts of the Kingdom. After which Deliberation, he entered a Ship of Sir *Andrew Wood* (a famous Navigator and stout Commander at Sea) which pretended to make Sail for the *Low Countries*, and was lying at Anchor in the *Forth*. These who saw him aboard, spread a Rumour that he was flying to *Flanders*. The Lords of the Insurrection making Use of this false Report, seized on his Carriage in the Passages towards the *North*, rifled his Coffers, spoiled his Servants of their Stuff and Baggage. And then after Certainty that he was but landed in *Fyfe*, and from that was in Progress to the *North-ern* Parts, preparing and directing his good Subjects to be in Readiness to attend him at his Return, they surpris'd the Castle of *Dumbar*. The Money found in his Coffers hire Souldiers against him, and the Harness and Weapons of his Magazines arm them. Having gathered some Companies together, tumultuously they overrun the Countries upon the South of the *Forth*, rifling and plundering all Men who went not with them, or whom they suspected not to favour their desperate and seditious Ends. In his Progress the King held Justice Courts at *Aberdeen* and *Inverness*, where *William Lord Creighton*, not long before forfeited with the Duke of *Albany*, submitted himself to his Clemency, and was received into Favour and pardoned: After which Grace he shortly left this World. Whilst the King in the *North*, the Lords in the *South* are making their Preparations; When they were assembled at *Linlithgow*, they find themselves many in Number and strong in Power, the Success of their Proceedings being above their Hopes. There only wanted a Man eminently in Esteem with the People, and Noble of Birth, to give Lustre to their Actions, shadow their Rebellion, and be the Titular and painted Head of their Arms. When they had long deliberated upon this great Man, they assented all that there was none to be parallel'd to the Prince of *Rothsay*, the King's own Son. So strongly Providence befools all humane Wisdom and Foresight; his Keepers being corrupted by Gifts, Pensions, and Promises of divers Rewards, he is delivered into their Hands; and by Threats, that they would otherwise give up the Kingdom to the King of *England*, he is constrained to go with them. To heighten the Hatred against the King, and the closer to deceive the People (for the Love of Subjects is such towards their natural Kings, that except they be first deceived by some Pretence and notable Sophism, they will not arise altogether in Arms and rebell) they make Proclamations, and by their Deputies, by Way of Remonstrances, spread abroad seditious Papers, (in what a Sea of Blood would these Men launch into!) "That all true Subjects should come in Defence of the Prince, and take Arms; because his Father's Jealousies and superstitious Fears were risen to that Height, that nothing but his Son's Death or Imprisonment could temperate them. That he was raising an Army to take his Son out of their Hands, that he might do with him as he had done with his own Brothers; that Force was the only Means to work his Safety, and keep the Plotters of this Mischief within Bounds. They also should take Arms to reduce the Government to a better Form, for that the Kingdom was oppressed with insupportable Grievances; the King being altogether given to follow the Advice, Projects and Counsels of base Men; to amass and gather great Sums of Money from his People, upon which he studied to maintain his Court and State, and give away his own."



When this Engine was prepared for the People, and spread abroad, they sent to the Earl of *Douglas*, then closely as a Monk shut up in the Abbey of *Lindores*, to come out, be of the Party, and assist them with his Counsel and Friends, promising, if their Attempt had happy Success, to restore him again to his ancient Possessions and Heritage, former Dignities and the Places of Honour of his Ancestors. The Earl, whom Time and long Experience had made wary and circumspect, having a Suspicion, that the Earl of *Angus*, who possessed the greatest Part of his Estate, had been the chief Motioner of this Liberty, and that rather to try what he would do, than that he minded really to set him free, refused to come out of his Cloister. And by his Letters dissuaded them from their bold Enterprize against their Prince; wishing they would set his House and himself for a Pattern and President of Rebellion. He sent to all such of his Friends, whom his Disasters had left unruined, to take Arms for the King, as the *Douglases* of *Cavers* and others.

The King neither losing Courage nor Counsel, for the Greatness of the Danger of the Rebellion, trusting much to his good Fortune, with such Forces as came with him from the North, in Captain *Wood's* Ships, and other Boats and Vessels prepared to that End, passeth the *Forth* near *Blackness*, an old Fortress and Sea-port in *West-Lothian*, not far from the Castle of *Abercorn*, and that Place where the Forces of the Earl of *Douglas* left him, and the King his Father obtained so harmless a Victory. Before the Arrival of the King at this Place, the Earl of *Glencairn*, Lords *Graham*, *Maxwell* and *Ruthven*, with others, advertised by Letters of the Rendezvous, had come to the Place, had encamped, and were attending him. And he mustered a sufficient Army to rencounter the Lords of the Association, who from all Quarters were assembled, having with them the Prince to add Authority to their Quarrel. The Two Armies being in Readiness to decide their Differences by a Battel, the Earl of *Arbore* the King's Uncle so travelled between the Lords of either Party and the King, that a Suspension of Arms and Reconcilement was agreed upon: And the Earl of *Arbore* rendered himself a Pledge for the accomplishing of the King's Part of the Reconcilement, to the Lord *Hailes*, and was sent to be kept in the Castle of *Dumbar*.

This was not a small Fault of this Prince: The Confederate Forces were not at this time equal to his, neither had they essayed to hinder the landing of his Army, being but in gathering; the Castle of *Blackness* was for his Defence, and his Ships traversing up and down the *Forth*, in case of Necessity for Succour. That if he had hazarded a Battel, he had been near to have recovered all that Reputation he had before lost. Now upon either side some common Souldiers are disbanded, some Gentlemen licensed to return to their own Dwelling-places. The King in a peaceable Manner retireth to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The Earl of *Arbore* was now removed from him, and many of the other Lords who loved him returned to their Houses; the Counsel of Man not being able to resist the Determinations of God. The Lords suspecting still the King to be implacable in their Behalf, and unaccessible in his Castle, keeping the Prince always with them, entering upon new Meditations, hold sundry Meetings how to have his Person in their Power, and make him a Prey to their ambitious Designs. The Town of *Edinburgh* is pestered with Troops of armed Men, and the Villages about replenished with Souldiers. The King warned of his Danger, fortifies of new the Castle of *Edinburgh* for his Defence, and is brought to such a Tameness, that resolving to do that with the Love of every Man, which he feared in end he should be constrained unto with the universal Hatred of all, and his own Damage and Danger, out of a passive Fortitude sent Commissioners, indifferent Noblemen, to the Lords and his Son to understand their Intentions, and what they meant: "Why his Son was kept from him, and continued the Head of their Faction? Why his Uncle was so closely imprison'd, and himself as it were blocked up by their tumultuous Meetings in Arms? He was content they should have an Abolition of all that was past, that their Punishments should not be infinitely extended, and that they should think upon a general Agreement after the best and fittest Manner they could devise and set down. They finding their Offence flew higher than Hopes of Pardon could ascend unto, their Suspicions, and the Conscience of their Crime committed, breeding such a Distrust out of an Apprehension of Fear, answered, "That they found no true Meaning. Open War was to be preferred to a Peace full of Deceit, Danger and Fears; that being assured he would weave out his begun Projects against them, they could not think of any Safety, nor have Assurance of their Lives nor Fortunes, unless he freely resigned the Title of his Crown and Realm in Favours of his Son, and voluntarily disposed himself, leaving the Government of his People and Kingdom to the Lords of his Parliament, divesting himself wholly of his Royal Dignity. Neither would they come to any Submission or Capitulation, until he consented to this main Point, and granted it submissive-ly.

King *James*, notwithstanding of this Answer, after a clear Prospect of the Inconveniences and Mischiefs which were growing, and the many Injuries, Indignities, and Affronts put upon him, yet really affecting a Peace, sought unto *Henry* King of *England*, as also to the *Pope*, and King of *France* to make an Atonement between him and his Subjects. The Kings accordingly interposed their Mediation in a round and Princely Manner, not only by Way of Request and Per-



Perswasion; but also by way of Protestation and Menace, declaring, "That they thought it to be the common Cause of all Kings, if Subjects should be suffered to give Laws unto their Sovereign; a legitimate King, though a Tyrant, was not subordinate to the Authority of Subjects. James was not a Tyrant, his Errors proceeding most part from Youth and evil Counsel; that, suppose the King had done them Wrong, it was not wisely done, for a Desire of Revenge, to endanger their Particular Estates, and the Peace and Standing of the whole Kingdom. What State was there ever so pure, but some Corruption might creep into it? That they should be very cautious how they shook the Frame of Monarchical Government too far; That they would accordingly resent and revenge it. Rage prevailing against Reason and Fears, the Lords made that same Answer to these Ambassadors which they had sent to the King himself before. As for the Pope's Embassy, which, being sent by *Adrian de Castello* an Italian Legate, was coming, the Lords fearing the Danger of it (for in those Times it might have drawn the most Part of all the Towns and the Commons, for Fear of Ecclesiastical Censures, to have adhered to the King, or stood in an Indifferency) made all possible Haste before it should have been delivered, to make Head against their Sovereign, and decide their Quarrel in a Battel: *Urban IV.* armed *Henry III.* King of England against all those that would not return to their due and old Obedience to him, and against all his disloyal Subjects.

The King was in a strong Fort, and if he had remained still there, Matters in a little Time had fallen forth more to his Wishes, and his Enemies might have been brought to a Submission: For his good Subjects of the North, as the *Forbesses*, *Ogilvies*, the *Grants*, *Frazers*, *Meldrums*, many of the *Gordons*, *Keiths*, and others who adhered to him out of Affection and Duty, were advancing towards him. But whether misinformed or betrayed by some of his own, who made him believe that unless he could command the Country about *Edinburgh*, the Castle was of no such Importance as was the Castle of *Stirling* for him, in Consideration of the Passage over the River of *Forth* at a Bridge for those who were coming to his Aid: The Lords of the Association counterfeiting a Retreat, and dispersing themselves in the Country, that they might draw him from that Hold, he rashly and unadvisedly issued out of the Castle, and left his beloved Town of *Edinburgh*. The Earl of *Glencairn*, Lord *Graham*, *Maxwell* and *Ruthven* accompanied him to *Blackness*; his Forces here encreasing, he marched towards *Stirling*, the Rendezvous and destined Place of Meeting for all his loyal Subjects, there he displayed his Royal Standard. Here the perfidious Constable (an unparallel'd Example of Ingratitude) who had betrayed the Son, in an hostile Manner, kept the Father out of his own Castle, Cannons mounted, Pistols cockt, and levell'd at him, and exposed him a Prey to his Rebels. In the Amazement and Deliberation what next to go about, being thus shut out of his Castle, Tidings came to him, that the Confederates were come near to *Falkirk*, a little Town Six Miles Eastward from *Stirling*. That his Army should not be discouraged by this unexpected Accident, trusting to his Right and present Power, being more Stout than Prudent, he resolveth to set all upon the hazard of a Battel. The Confederates had passed the *Carron*, a River under *Falkirk*, and were encamped above the Bridge near the *Tormood*: The King set forward with his Army upon the other Side of the *Tormood*, near a small Brook named *Sawby-Burn*. This Field is a Plain not far distant from that of *Bannock-Burn*, where King *Robert the Bruce* overthrew the great Army of *Edward of Caernarvan*. Here both Armies advance forward in Battel array.

The Lords rang'd their Host in Three Squadrons; the Vant-guard was led by the Lords *Hume* and *Hailes*, and their Friends, consisting of East *Lothian* and *Merse*-men; The middle Ward was composed of the *Liddesdale*, *Annandale*, *Ewsdale*, *Teviotdale*, *Tweeddale*, and *Galloway*-men: The main Battel was of West *Lothian*-men, where most of the Lords were, and amongst whom the Prince was kept. In the King's Army, the Earl of *Monteith*, Lords *Erskine*, *Graham*, *Ruthven*, and *Maxwell* commanded the Vant-guard. The left Wing, which consisted of Westland and Highland Men, was committed to the Earl of *Glencairn*. The Lords *Boyd* and *Lyndesay*, the Earl of *Crawford* commanded in the Rear or great Battel, amongst whom was the King arm'd from Head to Foot upon a great Courser, easy to be known and discern'd from the rest. The first Charge is valiantly given, and Launce meeting with Launce, the Vant-guard of the Lords began to yield Ground, and was strongly repulsed. But the next Charge being given by the *Annandale* Men and the rank Riders of the Borders, the middle Ward of the King's Army is beaten back to the main Battel. Notwithstanding which it is fought a while with marvellous Obstinacy and great Hardiness and Assurance, until the Standard Royal was beaten down, and those who defended it were slain, the Violence of the Bickering being mostly where it was planted. The King's Army now beginning to bow, not being sufficient to resist the Numbers of fresh Assailers, the Horse-men obeying no Direction, turned their Backs. In this Rout and Confusion of Horse and Foot, the King seeking to retire towards the River of *Forth*, where not far off some Boats and the Ships of Sir *Andrew Wood* attended the Fortune of Battel, by the Fall of his Horse, in leaping a Ditch, being sore bruised, was carried by such who knew him not, to a Mill at *Bannock-Burn*. The Day was now the Confederates, and Wrong had prevailed against Right, when the Prince of *Rothsay*, amazed at the Noise and



Clamours of the flying and following Souldiers, and in Suspicion of the worst, gave out express and strict Commandment, with Threatnings to the Disobeyers, that none should presume to pursue his Father, nor others in the Chase. Notwithstanding which, he was followed and kill'd in a Mill in cold Blood. These who followed him were the Lord Gray, Robert Stirling of Kerr, and Sir Andrew Borthwick a Priest, whom Fame reporteth, after Striving, to have stab'd him with a Dagger.

The Ensigns taken, the Army dissipated and put to Flight, and the Baggage rifled, the Death of the King being rumoured through the Armies, the Victors turned slow in the Chase, and gave Field-room to all that would fly, no Severity being used against any found unarmed; for the Lords of the Association pursued the King, not the People. The Discomfited fled towards Stirling; the Victorious retired to their Camp, and the next Morning to Linlithgow. On the King's Side, Alexander Cunningham Earl of Glencairn was slain, and, as some have recorded, the Lords Erskin, Semple and Ruthven, John Ramsay of Balmain, created Earl of Bothwell, and his chief Favourite, with their Friends and Vassals; the Laird of Innes, Alexander Scot Director of the Chancery, with some Noblemen's Friends and Vassals. Many were hurt, who recovered of their Wounds; and this Battel seemed rather a brave Encounter and Meeting of Lances in some Lifts, than a Field of great Deeds of Arms; and the Victory was obtained rather by Disorder, and the Rashness of the Vanquished, than by the Valour of the Victorious. This Battel was fought the Year 1488. the Eleventh Day of June, which is the Festival of St. Barnabas, the 29th Year of the Reign, and 35th of the Age of this King. He had Issue James IV. who succeeded, Alexander Arch-bishop of St. Andrew's, and John Earl of Marr. The Conspirators with all Funeral Rites and Royal Pomp, as in Expiation of the Wrongs they had done him living, near his Queen in the Abbey Church of Cambuskenneth, buried his Body.

This King, as to his Personage, was of a Stature somewhat higher than ordinary, well proportioned; his Hair was black, his Visage was rather long than round, approaching in Colour more to those in the Southern than Northern Climates. As to his Conditions, he was a Prince of an haughty and towering Spirit, loved to govern alone, affecting an absolute Power and Royal Pre-rogative over his People. He knew that Noblemen were of his Predecessors making, as the Coin, and why he might not put his Stamp upon the same Metal, or when these old Medalls were defaced, that he might not refund them, and give them a new Print, he thought no sufficient Reason could be given. His Reign seemeth a Theatre spread over with Mourning, and stain'd with Blood, where in a Revolution many Tragedies were acted. Neither were the Neighbour Kingdoms about in a calmer Estate during his Reign. France under Lewis XI; England under Henry VI. Edward IV, and Richard the Usurper; Flanders and Holland under Charles the Warlike; Arnold Duke of Guelders was imprisoned by his own Son. As if the heavenly Influences were sometimes altogether set to produce upon this Ball of the Earth nothing but Conspiracies, Treasons and Troubles, and, for the Wickedness of the Inhabitants, to deprive them of all Rest and Contentment.

This King is by the most condemned, as a Rash, Imprudent, Dangerous Prince: Good People make good Kings; when a People run directly to oppose the Authority of their Sovereign, and assume Rebellion and Arrogancy for Obedience, resisting his fairest Motions and most profitable Commandments: If a King be Martial, in a short Time they are beaten and brought under: If he be Politick, Prudent and Foreseeing in a longer Time (as wild Deer) they are surprized, and either brought back to their first Order and Condition, or thral'd to greater Miseries. If he be Weak and suffer in his Reputation or State or Person by them, the Prince who succeedeth is ordinarily the Revenger of his Wrongs. And all Conspiracies of Subjects, if they prosper not in a high Degree, advance the Sovereignty. This Prince seemeth not to have been naturally evil inclined, but to have been constrained to leave his natural Inclination, and necessitated to run upon Precipices and Dangers; his turbulent Subjects never suffering him to have rest. Many Princes who in the beginning of their Reigns have been admired for their fair Actions, by the Ingratitude of their Subjects have turn'd from one Extremity to another, and become their rebellious Subjects Executioners. He was provoked to do many Things by the Insolence of private Men: And what some call Tyranny and Fierceness in a Prince, is but just Severity. He fought to be feared, believing it to be the only way to Obedience. It is true, Injuries took such deep Impressions in his Mind, that no After-service could blot them away. The taking away of his Favourites, made him study Revenge, which if he had not done, he had had too much of the Stoical Virtues, little of the Heroical.

These who blame Princes, under a pure and absolute Monarchy, for having Favourites, would have them inhumane, base and contemptible, and would deprive them of Power to confer Favours according to the distinguishing Power of their Understanding and Conceptions. The Choice a Prince maketh of Men whom he advanceth to great Employments, is not subject to any Man's Censure. And were it bad, yet ought it to be pass'd over, if not approv'd; lest the Discretion and Judgment of the Prince be questioned, and his Reputation wounded: Favourites are Shrines to shadow Princes from their People. Why should a People not allow a Prince

some



some to whom he may unmask himself, and discover the Secrets of his Heart? If his Secrets should be imparted to many, they would be no longer Secrets. Why should it be imposed on a Prince to love all his Subjects alike, since he is not beloved of them all alike? This is a Desire to tyrannize over the Affections of Princes, whom Men should reverence.

He seemeth too much to have delighted in Retiredness, and to have been a Hater of Business; and, that he troubled not himself with any but for Formality's sake; more desirous of Quietness than Honour. This was the Fault of the Governours of his Youth, who put him off Business of State, that they might the more easily reach their own Ends, and by making him their Shadow, govern after their Pleasure. Of this Delight in Solitariness, his Brothers took their Advantage, and won the People to their Observance.

He was much given to Buildings and trimming up of Chappels, Halls and Gardens, as usually are the Lovers of Idleness; and the rarest Frames of Churches and Palaces in *Scotland* were mostly raised about his Time: An Humor, which tho' it be allowable in Men which have not much to do, yet it is harmful in Princes; as to be taken with Admiration of Watches, Clocks, Dials, Automates, Pictures and Statues. For the Art of Princes is to give Laws, and govern their People with Wisdom in Peace, and Glory in War; to spare the Humble, and prostrate the Proud.

He is blam'd of Avarice, yet there is no great Matters recorded of it, save the encroaching upon the Dealing, and taking the Giving to whom he pleased of Church Benefices, which, if he had liv'd in our Times, would have been held a Virtue. He was of a credulous Disposition, and therefore easy to be abused, which hath moved some to record, he was given to Divination, and to inquire of future Accidents; which, if it be credible, was the Fault of those Times. *Edward IV. of England* is said to have had that same Fault, and that by the Misinterpretation of a Prophecy of a Necromancer, which foretold that one, the first Letter of whose Name was G, should usurp the Kingdom, and dispossess the Children of King *Edward*, he took away his Brother *George Duke of Clarence*; which being really practised in *England*, some *Scottish* Writers (that a King of *Scotland* should not be inferiour in Wickedness to any of his Neighbour Princes) without Grounds have recorded the same to have been done by this King. His Love was great to learned Men, he used as Counsellors in his important Affairs *John Ireland* a Doctor of Divinity, and one of the *Sorbon* in *Paris*, made Arch-deacon of *St. Andrew's*, Mr. *Robert Blackader*, whom he promoted to be Bishop of *Glasgow*, Mr. *William Elphinston*, whom of an Official or Commissary of *Lothian*, he surrogated in the Place of Mr. *Robert Blackader*, and made Bishop of *Aberdeen*; and his Faults either in Religion or Policy may be attributed to these and his other Counsellors.

Many have thought that the fatal Chariot of his Precipice was, that he had equally offended Kindred, Clergy, Nobility and People. But suppose this had been true, why should such an horrible Mischief have been devised, as to arm his own Son against him? And that neither the fear of Divine Justice, nor the respect of Infamy with the Present or After-times, nor the Danger of the Example, had Power to divert the Minds of Men from such a cruel Design? This was really to seeth the Kid in the Mother's Milk, and to make an innocent Youth obnoxious to the most hainous Crime that could be committed. What ever Courtains could be spread to overshadow and cover this Mischief, the Horror of this Fact possess this Prince to his last Hour, and God out of his Justice executed the Revenge of this Cruelty upon the Nobles, Commons, and the Prince himself at the Field of *Flowden*; where some of the chief Actors of this Parricide were in their own Persons, others in the Persons of their Successors, sacrificed to the Ghost of this King.







THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
LIFE and REIGN  
OF  
JAMES the Fourth,  
King of Scotland.

**T**HE Lords, who had chosen rather to be reputed famous Rebels than contemn'd Subjects, by their Boldness of Enterprising, Skill of Managing the publick Affairs, and continued Purchases, swelling to that Greatness of Power, that they found none to counterpoise, few to oppose their Designs: To make their Rebellion lawful, and show the World they intended not the Subversion of their Country, but of their Opinionative King, nor that they did dislike Sovereignty; so they might have a Prince who would be ruled by their Directions, take the Name, and leave to them the Majesty and Authority of his Place: After the killing of the Father, call a Parliament for the installing of the Son in the Royal Throne. Few of the Three Estates here meeting, except themselves, and the Commissioners of Burroughs, in the Month of June, the Year 1488, at *Edinburgh* the Prince is crowned, then having not attained the Sixteenth Year of his Age. Tho' these Men had assumed the Government, yet in divers Parts of the Country they had but doubtful Obedience, nor was their Authority universally acknowledged, the Flames of Dissension seeming yet neither to be extinguished, nor altogether smothered with the Life of the late King. On the Sea, Sir *Andrew Wood*, who had attended the Event of the last Battel, maintained resolutely the Quarrel of his dead Master. Five tall Ships sent by the King of *England* to his Confederate's Aid (but which came too late) pretending a Revenge upon his disloyal Subjects, pillaged the Maritime Towns, and foraged the adjacent Parts of the Country, shut up the Mouth of the River of *Forth*, and interrupted the Commerce of Merchants. To repel which Violence, the Ships gathered by the Lords struggled in vain, being every way inferiour and weak to suppress their Incursions and Algarads. On the Land, the Forces of those who had stood out for the late King, had rather been by the last Conflict scatter'd, than thoroughly broken and brought under. The ablest and most convenient Companies which were gathered to his Assistance, having never assembled and join'd in one Body, the Fight being inconsiderately precipitated, and the Dye thrown before they could descend from the far Mountains, and cross the Fordless Rivers: And of those who were in the Fray not many being taken Prisoners, and fewer killed, falling under the Weight of friendly Arms.

The prime Men of those who had chosen rather justly to follow the King, than profitably his Rebels, finding themselves for their Loyalty, and that Good-will which they had carried to their Sovereign, persecuted and proscrib'd in their Fortunes and Persons, inflamed with Indignation and Shame, resolve to oppose Wisdom to Fortune, Courage to Strength, and to hazard some one Day more for the repairing the Losses of former. The Pillage begun upon the Seas by the *English* animating them: And being desirous to make as many Fellows of their Danger as they could, they send Letters through all the Quarters of the Kingdom to their Friends, Familiars and Confederates, encouraging them to ply the Business generously, opposing their Valour and Courage to the Strength and Power of the Abusers of the Prince. By publick Writings they cast Aspersions on the present Government. After that Battel of *Stirling*, and since the Coronation of the King, they had not fallen in the Power and Mercy of a Monarch, but under



an Oligarchy, the most depraved Form of all Governments, the Name and Title of a King, a young Man scarce Sixteen Years of Age enjoyed, but he governed not, but was by the Killers of his Father misgoverned, who under false Pretences intended the Ruin of the State. "What Reproach and Shame would it be, not only with all Men now living, but also with Posterity, to suffer these who had hazarded what they had dearest for the Honour and Preservation of their Prince, to be branded with the Name of Traitors, be banished and followed to Death. Whilst the Transgressors and Abusers of all Laws, Divine and Human, sit Judges over them, as Revengers of general Wrongs, usurping the Titles of Deliverers of the Country, and Restorers of the Commonwealth, amongst whose Paws the present King could not be assured and safe; they being the Men, who, to justify their Injustice, and make their Fact meritorious, brought him in Arms, not knowing whither, against his King and Father, most woefully taken away: Besides the abusing of his Name and Authority in every civil Matter. The late King had lost the Day and Himself by his own Errors, not by their Power and Designs. Now they should oppose their Proceedings: And though they might be esteemed inferior in Number to them; yet (if they met together) they might be found equal to them in Worth and Courage, being puffed up by the last Misfortune, and only putting their Confidence in that they obtained their Designs.

Much being projected and designed for their meeting in Arms, in the North *Alexander Lord Forbes*, a Man born neither to rest himself, nor suffer others, in *Aberdeen* and other Towns, on the Point of a Lance displayed the Shirt of the slaughtered King purpled with his Blood, inviting the Country, as by an Herald, to the Revenge of his Murther. In the West, the Earl of *Lennox*, a Man eminent by his Birth and Fortune, had the same Resolution; the Earl *Marishal*, Lords *Gordon* and *Lyle*, with their Confederates in other Parts of the Kingdom, where their Power or Eloquence could prevail, move all their Engines to advance the Enterprize, and put every Thing in Readiness.

The Lords of the Insurrection having the young King in their Hands to countenance their Proceedings, joining Discretion to their good Success, determine, except upon Necessity, not to spill more civil Blood. And to disperse the Clouds of that appearing Storm, they encourage Sir *Andrew Wood*, now received in Favour and brought not only to be no Enemy, but to be their Friend and Fellow-helper (having obtained from them the Barony of *Largow*, disposed to him hereditarily, of which before he had only a Lease of the late King for his First Service) with his Ships to clear the *Forth*, and scour the Seas of the *English*. And they launch out to his Assistance the Vessels and Boats of the Havens near adjacent. At that same Time *John Lord Drummond* Steward of *Strathern*, a Nobleman, courageous and adventurous, is directed to wait upon the Earl of *Lennox*, stop his ravaging and wasting the Country, and keep him back from joining with his Confederates of the North, and infesting the more civil Parts; being the greatest, ablest and nearest Man of that Faction. The Earl had raised many High-land and West-land Men, recorded to be Two Thousand; but when he could not pass the River of *Forth* at the Bridge of *Stirling*, the Lords having invested the Town, he essayeth to pass among the Fens and Marishes at a Ford not far from the Head of the River, where other his Confederates had appointed to meet him. Whilst he is encamped at *Tilly-moss*, far from all Appearance of Suspicion of Danger, the Lord *Drummond*, by the Advertisement of *Alexander Mackealp* (who had taken Arms with the Earl only to find out his Ways) in the Night invadeth his Camp, the Sentinels and these of the foremost Guard seized upon, or killed, or driven back, they in the nearest Cabines amazed with the sudden Mischief, rise to arm themselves and think of Fight; but finding the Danger to be on all Sides and through the whole Camp, neither seeing before them, nor hearing any Directions given them, for the great Noise of the Invaders, it being impossible to put themselves in Array, confusedly each overthrowing another, take themselves to a hopeless and disordered Flight. Sleep here to some is continued in Death, many disburdening themselves of their Arms, seek Sanctuary amongst the winding Paths of these Marishes. Others are taken, but by their Acquaintance and Friends suffered after to escape. Revenge is only followed against such who in Malice had enterprised any Thing against the present Government, and persevered in their Attempts.

This Defeat of the Earl of *Lennox* by the Lord *Drummond*, is seconded with the Rumour of a Sea-Victory obtained by Sir *Andrew Wood* against *Stephen Bull*, a Man excelling in Maritime Affairs, who had come upon the *Scottish* Seas to revenge the Quarrel of his Master's Ships not long before taken and spoiled by Sir *Andrew*. They had met near the Island of the *May* at the Mouth of the River of *Forth*, and ranging themselves for Fight, had been Two Days by the Waves and Winds carried along the Coast of *Fife*, driven at last amongst the Mounts of Sand where the *Tay* loseth his Name in the Sea, the *English* Ships taller, and of a greater Burthen than the *Scottish*, by Ignorance or Negligence of their Mariners embanked, and stuck moor'd upon the Shelves; and being forc'd by Necessity to render, were brought as Prizes to *Dundee*. The Rumour of these Victories spread abroad, so amaz'd the Companies raised in the North by the Lord *Forbes*, and other his Confederates, that they changing their Opinions with the Event of the Actions, gave



gave over further Prosecution or Desire of War, and every Man retired to his own Home. After which, by indifferent Friends, having sought a Reconciliation (it being more expedient to take them in by Policy than by Force) they were easily received into Favour; Amongst which was the Earl of *Lennox* and the Lord *Forbes*.

The Governours to ingratiate themselves more with the People, by calming the present Troubles, and uniting the divided Members of the Commonwealth, that every Man might have a publick Assurance for the Freedom of his Person and private Estate and Fortune, call a Parliament, and it is held at *Edinburgh* in *February*. Having the Law in their own Hands, that the Insurrection might be thought just, here it was adjudged, that those who were slain in the Field of *Stirling* had fallen by their own Deservings, and justly suffered the Punishment of their Rashness; that the Victors were innocently guiltless of the Blood there shed, and fairly acquitted of any Pursuit: The Three Estates testifying the same by their Subscriptions and Signers.

It was Ordained, *That they who came against the present King in Aid of his Father, should take Remissions or Pardons, and so many of them as were in hereditary Offices, as Wardens, Justices, Sheriffs, Stewards, Baillies, Lieutenants, or in other publick Charges, should be suspended from them for the space of Three Years; that such who had Offices for Term of Life, should be dispossessed and denuded of them altogether.*

All which, though done under a Colour of Punishment, was only to invest Places, and to turn some of themselves rich by their Spoils. The Punishment of mean Men challenged of these Garboyls, is either made little or passed over. All Donations howsoever made by Patent from the King or by Parliaments in prejudice of the Crown, beginning from the Month of *September* before, till the Day of his Decease, are repelled and annihilated. All Honours, bestowed on such as the late King sought to oblige unto him, were recalled. The Earl of *Crawford* was divested of his Title of being Duke of *Montrose*, as the L. of *Balmain* was of his, of being Earl of *Bothwell*. Ambassadors are directed to the Emperor, Pope, Kings of *France* and *Denmark*, and other Princes, to renew the Leagues, ancient Confederacies and Alliances, as in Times past had been the Custom of the Kings of *Scotland* to their Neighbour Princes, but especially to take away the Blame of their King's Slaughter from the Governours, and manifest to all the World the Candor of their Minds, and Justice of their Proceedings. For that some few *English* Ships had shut up the narrow Seas of *Scotland*, and interrupted the Commerce of Merchants, pillaging the Coasts, Order was established for building many Ships, and that every Sea-port should be stored with them, as well to maintain Traffick abroad with Strangers, as for Fishing, and to be Walls to the Country at Home. In a Matter so important, and near concerning the Well and Standing of the State, the Barons were ordained to share and bear a Part with the Merchants and Burroughs. And in so fair a Project, to encourage his People, the King himself was content first to begin and to build Ships for his own and the Publick Service of the Kingdom. This being one of the greatest Miseries of the late King that he suffered himself to be misgoverned by (as they term'd them) worthless Men, some Prelates and Noblemen eminent in Learning and Virtue, are selected, who should still be resident with the King, and of his Council, without the Advice, Consent and Decree of Six of which, if any Matter of Importance were proceeded on and concluded, they should be void and null: Governours are appointed to bring up his Brothers.

Now is every Thing ordered to the best, Justice is executed on Oppressors and Robbers, and in the remotest Parts of the Kingdom, the King himself in Person seeth it administred. He is of so contrary a Temper to the Humour of his Predecessors that he granted freely to every Man, what could be demanded in Reason. To give a Testimony to the World of the Agony of his Mind, for the Death of his Father, and what Remorse and Anguish he suffered for the Faults of those who brought him to the Field against him, he girded himself with a Chain of Iron, to which every Third Year of his Life thereafter he added some Rings and Weight. Though this might have proved terrible to the Accomplices of the Crime, yet either out of Conscience of his gentle Disposition and mild Nature, and Confidence in his Generosity, or of the Trust they had in their own Power and Faction, they bewrayed no Signs of Fear, nor attempted ought against the common Peace and Tranquillity. Some Records bear, that they forewarned him by the Example of his Father not to take any violent Course against them, or which might irritate the People against him; and in every Thing to embrace their Counsels: and that finding him repining and stubborn, beyond Mediocrity, giving himself over to Sorrow and Pensiveness, they threatened him with a Coronation of one of his Brothers, telling him, it was in their Power to make any of the Race of his Predecessors their King, if he were Headstrong and Refractory to oppose their wholesome Directions and grave Counsels.

Amidst this Grief of the King and Overweening of his supercilious Governours, *Andrew Forman* Secretary to *Alexander VI.* Bishop of *Rome* arrived in *Scotland*, with Instructions for the Clergy, and Letters from his Master to the King and the Nobles.



The King's, were full of ordinary Consolations to assuage his Passions, and reduce his Mind to a more calm Temper for the Accident of his Father's Death.

*The most glorious Victory a Prince could acquire, was sometimes to overcome himself, and triumph over his disordered Passions. In all Perturbations, to which we are subject, we should endeavour to practise that Precept, No Thing too much; but chiefly in our Passions of Sorrow and Wrath: which, not being restrained, overwhelm the greatest and most generous Minds; that by Passion, the fewest Actions, and by Reason the most do prosper.*

*Though a King, he must not imagine himself exempted from Things casual to all Mankind, especially in Seditions and civil Tumults: From which no Kingdom nor State hath been free. There being no City which hath not sometimes wicked Citizens, and always and ever an headstrong and mad Multitude; he should take what had befallen him from the Hand of his Maker, who chastiseth those he loveth. What comes from Heaven he should bear necessarily, what proceedeth from Men courageously; there was no Man so safe, excellent and transcendent, who by an insolent Nobility and ravaging Populace might not be compell'd to perpetrate many Things against his Heart and Intentions.*

*The Will being both the Beginning and Subject of all Sin, and the consenting to and allowing the Action being the only and main Point to be considered and lookt into, of which he was free, the Sin committed was not his, nor could the Punishment which by the Divine Justice might follow belong unto him.*

*Since he had done nothing of himself, but as a bound Man had been carry'd away by mutinous Subjects; these that Lead Transgress, not always they that Follow. To these Men Remorse and Torture of Conscience belong'd; it was they should lament and mourn, who under false Pretences had abused the People, masked their Ambition and Malice with a Reformation of Errors in the State, whose Rage could not be quenched but by the Blood of their Sovereign. It was these should bewail their Injustice and Cruelty, the Sin, Shame and Judgment, for so heinous a Fact followed these Men: He should not impute the Wrongs and Wickedness of others, by which he had been a Sufferer with his disastred Father, to himself. Revenge belonged to the Almighty, to whose Tribunal he should submit his Quarrel. He should not decree the worst against his mutinous Subjects, nor turn them desperate, as if there were no Place to Repent. Great Offences, perpetrated by great Persons and a Multitude, ordinarily were seldom punished in a State. That it was profitable for a Prince sometime to put up voluntarily an Injury. The Way to be Invincible, was never to Contend; and to stand out of Danger was the Benefit of Peace. That he should apply soft Medicine where it was dangerous to use violent; that following his Maker, he should endeavour to draw Good out of Evil.*

*As he was for that Disaster of his Father pitied by Men upon Earth, so assuredly he would be pardoned in Heaven. If his Subjects returned to their crooked Byess, and did revolt again, he would make the Danger his own, use his Ecclesiastical Censures and spiritual Power against them, till they became obedient, and submitted themselves to the Sway of his Scepter.*

In the Letters to the Nobles, he exhorted them to Obedience.

*Ambition was the Cause of Sedition, which had no Limits, and was the Bane and Wrack of States and Kingdoms, of which they should beware. Kingdoms subsisted upon the Reputation of a Prince, and that Respect his Subjects carried towards him. He was the Eye and Sun of Justice; the Prince weakened or taken away, or his Authority contemned, the Common-Wealth would not only fall into a Decadence, but suffer an Earthquake, and perish; either after by Foreigners be invaded, or by intestine Dissensions rent asunder. Confusions followed, where Obedience ceased and left. Contempt deposed Kings as well as Death, and Kings are no longer Kings, when their Subjects refuse to obey them.*

*That good People made good Kings, which he requested them to endeavour to be, as they would answer to God, whose Lieutenants Princes were, and by whose Power they ruled.*

After this Time, the Lord Evandale being dead, the Earl of Angus was made Chancellor, and the Lord Hume obtained the Place of great Chamberlain of Scotland, the Country enjoyed a great Calm of Peace, the Grounds of Dissension seeming to be taken away.

The King in the Strength and Vigour of his Youth, remembring that to live in Idleness was to live to be contemned by the World, by Change of Objects to expell his present Sadness, and to enable himself for Wars when they should burst forth, gave himself to Recreations by Games, and with a decent Pomp entertained all Knightly Exercises, keeping an open and magnificent Court. When Time and Exercise had enabled him, and he thought he had attained to some Perfection in Martial Sports, Tilting and Barriers are proclaimed; Rewards propounded and promised to the Victors; Challenges are sent abroad unto Strangers, either to be Umpires or Actors of Feats of Arms.

Charles VIII. the French King, having an Ambition to re-annex the Dutchy of French Bre-taign to the Crown of France, either by Arms, or the Marriage of Anne the apparent Heir, under



under the Pretext and Shadow of those painted Justings, sendeth to Scotland some of the bravest Gentlemen of his Court, desiring privily the Assistance of King James against the English, if it should fall forth that the King of England troubled his Designs.

Not long after, well and honourably accompanied, arriveth in Scotland a young Man naming himself Richard Duke of York, Son to Edward IV, true Inheritor of the Crown of England, divers Neighbour Princes testifying the same by their Letters, which contained,

*That Edward, the eldest Son of Edward IV, who succeeded his Father in the Crown, by the Name of Edward V. was murdered by Richard Duke of Gloucester their unnatural Uncle; but Richard the younger Son his Brother, by the Man who was employed to execute that Tragedy (making Report to the Tyrant that he had performed his Command for both Brethren) was saved, and with Speed and Secrecy conveyed to Tournay, there conceal'd and brought up by his Father's Sister Margaret Duchess of Burgundy; that King James should acknowledge this for Truth, and friendly assist this young Man, who was that very Richard Duke of York, to recover his Inheritance, now most unjustly usurped and possessed by Henry Tudor Earl of Richmond. That the Right of Kings extended not only to the safe Preservation of their own, but also to the Aid of all such Allies, as Change of Time and State hath often hurled down from Crowns to undergo an Exercise of Suffering in both Fortunes: And Kings should repossess Kings wrongfully put from their own. As his Predecessors, to whose Royal Virtues he was Heir, had repossessed Henry VI. King of England, spoiled of his Kingdom and distressed, by which Charity obliging all virtuous Princes unto him, he should find ever as his own, Maximilian of Bohemia, Charles of France, and Margaret Duchess Dowager of Burgundy.*

King James graciously received this young Man, and told him, *That whatsoever he were, he should not repent him of putting himself into his Hands:* And from that time forth, though many gave Informations against him as a Counterfeit, he entertained him every way as a Prince, embraced his Quarrel, and shutting both his own Eyes, and the Eyes of the World, he gave Consent that this Duke should take to Wife Lady Katharine Gordon Daughter to the Earl of Huntly, which some thought he did to increase the Faction of Perkin (for that was the true Name of this Impostor) in England, stir up the discontented Subjects against King Henry, and to encourage his own Subjects to side in his Quarrel.

Not long after in Person, with this Duke of York in his Company, who assured him of powerful Assistance, he entred with an Army into Northumberland, but not one Man coming to side with them, the King turned his Enterprize into an Inroad, and after he had spoiled the Country returned into Scotland. It is said, that Perkin acting the Part of a Prince handsomly, when he saw the Scots pillaging and wasting the Country, came to the King, and in a deploring Manner requested him to spare his afflicted People; that no Crown was so dear to his Mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the Blood and Ruin of his People. Whereunto King James answered, he was ridiculously careful of an Interest another Man possessed, and which perhaps was none of his. The King of England, who delighted more to draw Treasure from his People than to hazard the spilling of their Blood, to revenge the Predatory War of the Scots, and find out Perkin, requireth a Subsidy of his Subjects; and though few believed he would follow so far a flying Hart, he was levying a puissant Army.

No sooner this Subsidy began to be collected amongst the Cornish Men, when they began to grudge and murmur, and afterwards rebelled; which when it was understood by the King, he retained the Forces raised, for his own Service and Use. In the mean Time dispatching the Earl of Surrey to the North to attend the Scots Incursions, whilst the Cornish Men are in their March towards London, King James again enter'd the Frontiers of England with an Army, and besieged the Castle of Norham in Person; but understanding the Earl of Surrey was advancing with greater Forces, laden with Spoil, he returned back again; the Earl of Surrey finding no Enemy, sat down before the Castle of Ayton, which he took, and soon after returned into England; the cold Season of the Year, with the Unseasonableness of the Weather driving away Time, invited a Treaty of Peace on both Sides.

Amidst these Turmoils and unprofitable Incursions of the Two Kingdoms, Ferdinando and Isabella of Spain sent one Peter Hialas to treat a Marriage between Katharine, one of their Daughters, and Arthur Prince of Wales. This Alliance being agreed upon, and almost brought to Perfection, King Henry, (desirous of Quierness, and to have an end of all Debates, especially these with Scotland) communicateth his Intentions to Hialas, a Man wise and learned, and whom he thought able to be employed in such a Service: For it stood not with his Reputation to sue unto his Enemy for Peace.

But Hialas, a Stranger unto both, as having Direction from his Master for the Peace of Christian and Neighbour Princes, might take upon him this Reconciliation.

Hialas accepteth the Embassy, and coming to King James, after he had brought him to hearken to more safe and quiet Counsels, wrote unto King Henry, *That he hoped, that Peace might*



easily be concluded, if he would send some wise and temperate Counsellor of his own, that might treat of the Conditions.

Whereupon the King directeth the Bishop of Durham, Richard Fox, who at that Time was at his Castle of Norham, to confer with Hialas, and they both to treat with some Commissioners deputed from King James. The Commissioners of both sides meet at Feuburgh, and dispute many Articles and Conditions of Peace. Restitution of the Spoils taken by the Scots, or Damgages for the same is desired: But that was passed as a Matter impossible to be performed. An Interview in Person at Newcastle is desired of both Kings: Which being referred to King James his own Arbitrement, he is reported to have answered That he meant to treat a Peace, and not go a Begging for it.

The breaking of the Peace for Perkin Warbeck is highly aggravated by the Bishop, and he is demanded to be deliver'd to the King of England; That a Prince should not easily believe with the common People. That Perkin was a Fiction, and such an one, that if a Poet had projected the Figure, it could not have been done more to Admiration, than the House of York by the old Dutchesse of Burgundy, Sister to Edward IV, had contrived theirs, having first raised Lambert Simnel, and at last this Perkin, to personate Kings, and seduce the People. His Birth, Education, and not residing in any one Place proved him a Pageant King; that he was a Reproach to all Kings, and a Person not protected by the Law of Nations.

The Bishop of Glasgow answered for his Master, That the Love and Amity, grounded upon a common Cause and universal Conclusion amongst Kings to defend one another, was the main Foundation upon which King James had adventured to assist Richard Duke of York. That he was no competent Judge of his Title; he had received him as a Supplicant, protected him as a Person fled for Refuge, espoused him with his Kinswoman, and aided him with Arms upon the Belief that he was a Prince; that the People of Ireland, Wales, and many in England acknowledged him no less than their King, whether he were so or not; since for a Prince he had hitherto defended him, he could not leave him upon the Relation of his most terrible Enemy and the present Possessor of his Crown. That no Prince was bound to render a Subject to another who had come to him for Sanctuary, much less a Prince who had Recourse unto him for Aid and Supply, and was now Allied with the ancient Blood of the Country.

Much being said, at last they conclude upon a Truce for some Months following.

After this Treaty of Peace the Counterfeit Duke of York, with his Lady, and such Followers as would not leave him, sailed over into Ireland.

This Truce, happily concluded and continued, by a trifling and untoward Accident went near to have been given up and broken.

There were certain Scottish young Men came into Norham Town, and having little to do went sometimes forth and would stand looking upon the Castle. Some of the Garrison of the Castle observing them, and having not their Minds purged of the late ill Humour of Hostility, either suspected them, or quarrell'd with them as Spies, whereupon they fell at ill Words, and from Words to Blows, so that many were wounded on either Side, and the Scots (being Strangers in the Town) had the worst: Insomuch that some of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The Matter being complained on, and often debated before the Wardens of the Marches of both sides, and no good Order taken, King James took it to himself, and sent Marchmont Herauld to the King of England to make Protestation, That if Reparation were not done according to the Conditions of the Truce, his King did denounce War. The King of England (who had often tryed Fortune, and was inclined to Peace) made Answer, That what had been done was utterly against his Will, and without his Privy; but if the Garrison Souldiers had been in the Fault, he would see them punished, and the Truce in all Points preserved. This Answer pleased not King James. Bishop Fox understanding his Discontent, being troubled that the Occasion of breaking the Truce should grow from his Men, sent many humble and deprecatory Letters to the King of Scotland to appease him. Whereupon King James mollified by the Bishop's submissive and discreet Letters, wrote back again unto him, That though he were in Part moved by his Letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied except he spake with himself, as well about the compounding of the present Differences, as about other Matters, that might concern the Good of both Kingdoms. The Bishop advising first with his Master, took his Journey to Scotland: The Meeting was at the Abby of Melrose, where the King then abode. The King first roundly uttered unto the Bishop his Offence conceived for the Breach of the Truce by his Men at Norham Castle; after, speaking with him apart, he told him, That these temporary Truces and Peace were soon made and soon broken: But that he desired a straiter Amity with the King of England, discovering his Mind, That if the King would give him in Marriage the Lady Margaret his eldest Daughter, that indeed might be a Knot indissoluble; that he knew well what Place and Power the Bishop deservedly had with his Master; therefore if he would take the Business to Heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would well succeed.

The Bishop answered soberly, That he thought himself rather happy than worthy, to be an Instrument in such a Matter, but would do his best Endeavour. Wherefore the Bishop of Durham re-

turning



turning from Scotland to his King at London, and giving Account what had passed, and finding his King more than well disposed in it, gave the King first Advice to proceed to a Conclusion of Peace, and then to go on with the Treaty of Marriage by Degrees. Hereupon a Peace was concluded to continue for both the Kings Lives, and to the Survivor of them one Year after. In this Peace there was an Article contained, That no English Man should enter into Scotland, nor no Scots Man into England, without Letters Commendatory from the King of either Nation.

During this Treaty of the Marriage, it is reported that the King of England referred this matter to his Council, and that some of the Table, in freedom of Counsellors (the King being present) had put the Case, That Issues Males and Females failing of the Race of his two Sons, that then the Kingdom of England will fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the Monarchy of England. Whereunto the King himself replied, That if any such Event should be, Scotland would be but an Accession to England, and not England to Scotland; for that the Greater would draw the Lesser, and that it was a safer Union for England than that of France.

Shortly after, the Espousals of James King of Scotland with Lady Margaret the King of England's eldest Daughter followed; which were done by Proxy in all solemn Manner. The Assurance and Contract was published at Pauls Cross the 25th. of January at London. In Applause of which, Hymns were publicly sung in the Churches, and Bonfires, with great Feasting and Banqueting, set throughout all the City.

Julius II. in the Beginning of this Treaty did gratify King James with a Sword and Diadem wrought with Flowers of Gold (which the Popes on Christmas Even used to consecrate, a Custom first brought in by Sixtus Quartus) which were presented to him at Holy-wood-house. The Marriage was in August following consummated at Edinburgh, King Henry bringing his Daughter as far as Collieston on the Way, where his Mother the Countess of Richmond abode; and then resigning her to the Attendance of the Earl of Northumberland, who with a great Train of Lords and Ladies of Honour, brought her into Scotland to the King her Husband, solemn Days were kept at Court for Banqueting, Masks and Revelling, Barriers and Tilting proclaimed. Challenges were given out in the Name of the Savage Knight (who was the King himself) and Rewards designed to the Victors. Old King Arthur, with his Knights of the Round-Table were here brought upon the Lifts. The Fame of this Marriage had drawn many foreign Gentlemen to the Court. Amongst others came Monsieur Darcy, naming himself *Le Sieur de la Beaute*, who tried Barriers with the Lord Hamilton, after they had tilted with grinding Spears. Some of the Savage Knight's Company (who were robust Highland Men) he giving Way unto them, smarted really in these feigned Conflicts, with Targets and Two-handed Swords to the Musick of their Bag-pipes, fighting as in a true Battel, to the Admiration of the English and French, who had never seen Men so ambitious of Wounds and prodigal of Blood in sport. All were magnificently entertained by the King, and with honourable Largesses and Rewards of their Valour, licensed to return Home.

During the Treaty of this Marriage with England, a Monster of a new and strange Shape was born in Scotland near the City of Glasgow, the Body of which under the Waste or Middle varied nothing from the common Shape and Proportion of the Bodies of other Men, the Members above both for Use and Comeliness being Two, their Faces looking one way; sitting they seemed Two Men to such who saw not the Parts beneath, and standing it could not be discerned to which of the two Bunks above, the Thighs and Legs did appertain. They had differing Passions, and diverse Wills, often chiding others for Disorder in their Behaviour and Actions: After much Deliberation, embracing that unto which they both consented. By the King's Direction they were carefully brought up, and instructed in Musick and Foreign Languages. This Monster lived Twenty and Eight Years, and dyed when John Duke of Albany Governed. Claud Gruget maketh mention of the like Monster born in Paris before the Marriage of Henry IV. the French King with Margaret of Valois, but the Birth and Death of it were near together.

The King, by his great Liberality unto Strangers abroad, and his lavish Spending at Home (for religious Places were founded, Castles repaired, and Ships built, especially Three of an extraordinary Greatness) finding himself, needy of Treasure to support the daily Expences at Court, engaged to many, and sunk deep in Debt; and that he could not levy Subsidies, except by the Suffrages of his Parliament, by whose Power they were imposed and rated, setteth the most learned Counsellors at Law, and Men experienced in foreign Policy, to find out new Means and Ways to acquire and gather him Money by Laws already made and ordained, which was in Effect to poll the People by executing the Rigour of Justice, the Fortunes of Wise Men arising often on the Expences of Fools, after the Example of King Henry VII. of England, his Father-in-law, who taking the Advantage of the Breach of his Penal Statutes, gave Power to Sir Richard Empson and Edmond Dudley, by Informers and Promoters, to oppress and ruin the Estates of many of his best Subjects, whom King Henry the VIII. to satisfy his wronged People, after his Decease caused execute. Old Customs are by these Men pried into, and forgotten obsolete Statutes quickened.

Amongst



Amongst the Titles of possessing of Lands in Scotland there is one, which in process of Time, of an ungodly Custom, grew strong, and is kept for a Law, being fetched by Imitation from the Laws of the Neighbouring States; That if the Possessor of Lands die and leave a Minor to succeed to him, his Tutelage belongeth to the King, and the Profit of the Lands untill the Minor be of the Age of One and Twenty Years. This is of those Lands which are termed Wards. The King causeth bring up his Wards, but bestoweth no more of their Rents upon them than is useful to such of that Age. Another Law they have, not any thing better than this, which they call *Recognition*. That if the Evidences of any Possessor of Ward-Lands be not in all Points formal, and above Exceptions of Law, the Lands (the Possessors put from them) shall return to the Lord Superior. And like to this, That if a Possessor of Ward-Lands, without the Consent of the Superior, sell and put away the half, or above the half of his Land and Farm, the whole Land and Farm returneth to the Superior or Lord Paramount. They have Lands held with Clauses, which they call *Irritant*, That if Two Terms of a Fee-Duty run unpaid into the Third, the Land falleth unto the Superior. When those Laws, and other like them by Reason of the Neighbour Incurfions and Troubles with England, and the Civil Broils at Home, had been long out of Use amongst the Subjects, and the Execution of them as it were in a Manner forgot, these Projectors and new Toll-Masters, the King giving Way to enrich his Exchequer, awakned them. Many of the Subjects by these Inquiries were obnoxious to the King and smarted, but chiefly the most honest, who were constrained either to buy their own Lands and Inheritances from the Exchequer, or quit and freely give some Portion of them to those Caterpillars of the State. The King was so dearly beloved of his People, that in the height of those Grievances (which reached near the exorbitant Avarice of his Father) none refused or made difficulty to give all that the Laws ordained. The King seeing their Willingness to perform, and knowing their great Disability thereunto, out of his singular Grace and Goodness remitteth not only the Rigour, but even the Equity almost of his Laws, inasmuch that thereafter none of his Subjects were damnified in their Persons or Estates by his Proceedings, which gain'd him the Hearts of all: And to put away all Suspensions and Jealousies from their Minds (an ordinary Practice amongst Princes, Acts that fill Princes Coffers ever being the Ruin of their first Projectors) of any Wrong intended, he suffered the Promoters and Projectors of this Polling, with others of the most active, to be thrown into Prisons, where some miserably ended their Days.

The Year 1507. James Prince of Scotland and Isles was born at *Holy-rood-House*, the 21. of January: The Queen in her Throwes of Birth, being brought near the last Agony of Death, the King (overcome with Affection and religious Vows) taketh a Pilgrimage for her Recovery on Foot to St. *Ninian's* in *Galloway*; a Place in those credulous Times famous for the Burial of St. *Ninian* the Apostle of the Britains, and notorious by the many Processions and Visits of the neighbour Countrys of Ireland and England. At his Return he findeth his Queen recovered. The Child after died at *Stirling* with the Bishop of *Galloway*, who was appointed to attend him. The Year following the Queen brought forth another Son, named *Arthur*, at *Holy-rood-House*; but he died also in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. And Henry VII. his Grandfather accompanied him to the other World. King James, to the Coronation of the young King his Brother-in-law, sendeth Ambassadors.

After the Death of his Two Sons, and his Father-in-Law, as if he had been warned from above to think upon his own Mortality (whether he had a resolute Intention so to do, or that for Reasons known to himself, he would have it so appear) he giveth out, That out of Remorse for bearing Arms in the Field where his Father was slain, he had a Resolution to leave his Kingdom, and visit the Holy Sepulchre. Then to prepare his Way, *Robert Blackader* Abbot of *Dumfries*, is directed; but the Abbot in his Journey is arrested by Death, and the King findeth other Hinderances to keep him at Home.

Amidst these Deliberations, his Queen is delivered in the Palace of *Linlithgow* of her Third Son, in the Month of April 1512. who succeeded to the Crown, and was named James.

About this same Time *Bernard Stuart*, that famous Warrior under *Charles VIII* of France, who commanded the French in *Bosworth-Field*, came to Scotland, followed by *Andrew Forman* then Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, and Bishop of *Murray*, with *Alexander Stuart* the King's natural Son, after promoted to be Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrew's*. The Cause which was given out to the Rumours of the People of their coming, was, That the French King having no Male Children, crav'd the Advice and Counsel of the King of Scotland his Confederate, concerning the Marriage of his Eldest Daughter; whether he should bestow her upon *Francis of Valois*, the Dauphine and Duke of *Angoulesm*, or upon *Charles* King of *Castile*, who had presented her with many Tokens of Affection, and by his Ambassadors earnestly sought her from her Brother. But their great Errand was to divide the King from his Brother-in-law King *Henry*, and make him assist *Lewis*; these Two Potentates intending a War against other.

*Anne* Daughter of *Francis* Duke of *Bretaign*, after the Death of her Sister *Isabella*, remained sole Heir of that Dutchy, her Wardship falling to the French King *Charles VIII*. He terrified so her Subjects, guided her Kindred, and the principal Persons about her, that making void the pre-



pretended Marriage of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, which was by Proxy, he was married unto him; notwithstanding he had the Daughter of *Maximilian* at his Court, with great Expectation of a Marriage to be celebrated with her. After the Death of King *Charles*, *Lewis XII* having married *Jean* the Sister of *Charles* and Daughter to *Lewis* the XI, by his many Favours bestowed upon Pope *Alexander VI*, and his Son *Cesar Borgia*, obtaineth a Brieve of Divorce against her, by the Power of which (her Weakness for the bearing of Children (the necessary Upholders of a Crown) by his Physicians being proved) he had married *Anne of Bretain*, for he would not lose so fair a Dowry for the blustering Rumour of Malecontents, which in a little Time would grow stale and vanish. Pope *Alexander* being dead, *Julius II*, a turbulent, unquiet, but magnificent Prelate, and a stout Defender of the Church-Patrimony, being suspicious of the Power of *French* in *Italy*, and that they would not rest content with the Kingdom of *Naples* and Dutchy of *Milan*, but one Day hazard for all; fearing also they would, because they might put him out of his Chair, and substitute in his Room their Cardinal of *Amboise*, or some other of their own, began to study Novations and Means to send the *French* back to their own Country, his ordinary Discourse being that he would one Day make *Italy* free from *Barbarians*. He requireth King *Lewis* to give over the Protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and of *Annibal Bentivoglio*, whom he had thrust out of *Buloign*. The King refusing to forsake his Confederates, the Pope betaketh himself to his spiritual Arms, and threatneth with Excommunication the Duke and all who came to his Aid and Support, especially the *French*. They decline his Sentence, and appeal to a true and lawful General Council, with which they threaten him. *Henry VIII* then in the Fervour of his Youth, amidst a great Treasure left by his Father, and by more than ordinary Bands of Love and Friendship tyed to the Pope, (as having dispensed with the marrying his Brother's Widow) interposeth himself as an indifferent Mediator and Intercessor for Peace between the Two Parties, but in Effect was the chief Maintainer of the Quarrel, effecting nothing, because he would not. Conditions being refused by King *Henry*, he essayeth to draw the *French* Arms from the Pope's Territories by cutting them Work nearer Home, and bringing a Necessity upon them to defend their own. Upon this Determination, he requireth King *Lewis* to restore and render to him his Dutchies *Guyenne* and *Normandy* with his ancient Inheritance of *Anjou* and *Main*, and the other old Possessions of the *English* in *France*, which wrongfully had been detained and kept from him and his Ancestors. The War of *Italy* by these Threatnings was not left off: For the Pope coming to *Buloign*, with Intention to invade *Ferrara*, is besieged with his Cardinals, and he sendeth Declarations to the Christian Princes, protesting the *French* not only thirsted after the Patrimony and Inheritance of *St. Peter*, but even after Christian Blood. Mean while he absolveth the Subjects of King *Lewis* from their Oath of Allegiance, abandoneth his Kingdom to any can possess it; at a Council at *Lateran* he dispatcheth a Bull, wherein the Title of *most Christian King* is transferred upon King *Henry* of *England*, who to his former Titles of *France*, having now the Approbation of the Pope, and the Kingdom interdicted, prepareth an Expedition in Person. After which, with Five Thousand barded Horses, Fourty Thousand Foot, coming into *Picardy*, he encampeth before *Therouenne*, a Town upon the Marches of *Picardy*. Here the Emperor *Maximilian*, resenting yet his old Injury, entrencheth into the King of *England's* Pay, and weareth the Cross of *St. George*: But so long as he stayed in the Army, it was governed according to his Counsel and Direction.

King *James* before his Meeting with *Bernard Stuart* and Bishop *Forman*, was fully purposed to prove an indifferent Beholder of this War: But *Bernard* having corrupted the Courtiers, and the Bishop the chief Church-men of the Kingdom, after their long and earnest Intercession he was drawn altogether to affect and adhere to the *French*.

To throw the Apple of Dissension, Bishop *Forman* is sent to King *Henry* to demand certain Jewels by their Father's Will; or her Brother Prince *Arthur's*, appertaining to Queen *Margaret* his Sister.

King *Henry* mistrusting that Embassy, offereth all and more than they demand from him: Shortly after the *English* beginning to interrupt the Traffick of the *French* by Sea, King *James* will send his Ships, lately well Mann'd and equipp'd for Fight, which not long before had been prepared (as was given out) to transport the King into *Syria*, to his Cousin Queen *Anne*, supposing this Gift would rather seem a Pledge of Friendship and Alliance, to the *English*, than any Supply of War. But *James* Earl of *Arran* having got the Command of them, instead of sailing towards *France*, arriveth in *Ireland*, whether by Tempest of Weather, or that he would disturb the King's Proceedings in assisting the *French*, instigated and corrupted by King *Henry*, is uncertain: And after he had spoiled *Knock-Fergus* a maritime Village, returneth with them to the Town of *Air*.

The King taking in an evil Part the Invasion of *Ireland*, but more the lingring of the Earl, for he had received Letters from Queen *Anne* and Bishop *Forman*, regrating the long and vain Expectation of his Ships, giveth the Earl of *Angus*, and Sir *Andrew Wood* a Commission for both him and them. The Earl of *Arran* by his Friends at Court, understanding his Master's displeasure, ere they could find him, hoiseth up Sails, and committeth himself rather to the



uncertain Fortune of the Seas, than the just Wrath of a King. After great Tempest arriving in *French Bretain*, these Ships built at such extraordinary Charges, the Sayls and Cordage being taken from them, rotted and consumed by Weather, in the Haven of *Brest*.

Now Matters grew more exasperate between the Brother Kings; *Robert Carr* Warden of the Borders is killed by Three *English*, *Heron*, *Lilburn*, *Starbed*. *Andrew Barton*, who upon an old Quarrel begun in the Reign of King *James III.* had Purchased Letters of Reprisal against the *Portuguese*, by *Thomas Howard* the *English* Admiral is slain, and his Ships taken. To this last Grievance (when it was expostulated) King *Henry* is said to have answered, *That Truce amongst Princes was never broken for taking or killing of Pirates.*

*Alexander Lord Hume* Warden of the East Marches in Revenge of accumulated Injuries with Three Thousand Men invaded the *English* Borders, burneth some Villages, and forrageth the Fields about. But having divided his Forces, and sent a Part of them loaden with Spoils towards *Scotland*, he falleth into an Ambush of the *English*: Where *Sir William Bulmaire* with a Thousand Archers put him to Flight, and took his Brother *George*. During these Border IncurSIONS, the Lord *Dacrer* and Doctor *West* came as in an Ambassy from *England*, not so much for Establishing a Peace, and settling those Tumults, begun by the Meeting of Commissioners (who assembled and concluded nothing) as to give their Master certain and true Intelligence of the Proceedings of the *Scots* with the *French*, and what they attempted.

*Monsieur de la Motte* was come with Letters from the *French* King to stir up King *James* to take Arms against the *English*, and had in his Voyage drowned Three *English* Ships, bringing Seven with him as Prizes to the Harbour of *Leith*. *Robert Barton* in Revenge of *Andrew Barton's* Death, at that same Time returned with Thirteen Vessels all Prizer. King *Louis* had sent a great Ship loaden with Artillery, Powder and Wines, in which *Mr. James Ogilvy* Abbot of *Dryburgh* arrived, with earnest Request for the renewing of the ancient League between *France* and *Scotland*, and Letters from Queen *Anne* for the Invasion of *England*. In which she regretted he had not one Friend nor Maintainer of his Honour at the Court of *France* (after the late Delay of the sending his Ships) except her self and her Ladies: That her Request was, He would for her Sake, whom he had honoured with the Name of his Mistress in his Martial Sports in Time of Peace, march but one Mile upon the *English* Bounds, now in the Time of an appearing War against her Lord and Country.

The King thinking himself already engaged and interested in his Fame, drawn away by the Promises, Eloquence, and other Perswasions of the *French*, assembleth the Three Estates of his Kingdom to deliberate about a War with *England*. Many oppose it, but in vain; for at last, for fear of the King's displeasure, it is concluded, uncertain whether by a worse Counsel or Event. But before any Hostility against the *English*, they determine and decree, that King *Henry* shall by an Herald be fairly advertised and desired to desist from any further Invasion of the Territories of the *French* King, or Duke of *Guelders* (who was General of the *French* Army) the King of *Scotland's* Confederates and Kinsmen: Which not being yielded unto, the War as lawful and just shall be denounced.

*Henry VIII.* then besieging *Therouenne*, answered the Herald who delivered his Commission: "That he heard nothing from him, but what he had expected from a King, a Despiser of God's and Man's Law; as for himself, he would not give over a War so happily begun for any Threats. Neither did he care much for that Man's Friendship, of whose Inconstancy he had so often had Experience, nor for the Power of his Kingdom and ambitious Poverty."

After this Answer of the King of *England*, A Declaration by the King of *Scotland* was published almost to this Sense.

Though Princes should direct their Actions more to Conscience than Fame, and are not bound to give an Account of them to any, but to God alone, and when Armies are prepared for Battle, they look not so much to what may be said, as to what ought to be done; the Victors being ever thought to have had Reason upon their Side, and the justest Cause: Yet to manifest our Sincerity, and the Uprightness of our Proceedings, as well to these present Times as to Posterity, who may hereafter enquire after our Deportments, that all may take a full View of our Intentions and Courses, we have been mov'd to lay down the Justness and Equity of our Arms before the Tribunal of the World.

The Laws of Nations and of Nature, which are grounded upon that Reason by which Man is distinguished from other Creatures, oblige every one to defend himself: And to seek means for one's own Preservation is a thing unblamable: But the Laws of Sovereignty lay greater Obligations upon us, and above all Men Monarchs, and they to whom God hath given the Government of States and Kingdoms, are not only bound to maintain and defend their own Kingdoms, Estates, and Persons, but to relieve from unjust Oppression, so far as is in their Power, being required, their Friends, Neighbours and Confederates, and not to suffer the Weak to be overthrow by the Stronger. The many Innovations and Troubles raised upon all Sides about us, the Wrongs our Subjects have suffered, by the Insolencies and Arrogancy of the Counsellors of *Henry* King of *England* our Brother-in-Law, are not only known to our Neighbour, but blazed amongst remotest Countrys. Roads and IncurSIONS have been made



made upon our Borders; sundry of our Lieges have been taken, and, as in a just War, made Prisoners; the Warden of our Marches, under Assurance, hath been miserably killed; our Merchants at Sea invaded, spoiled of their Goods, Liberties, and Lives: Above others, the chief Captains of our Ships put to Death, and all by the King's own Commission. Upon which Breaches between the Two Kingdoms, Disorders and manifest Wrongs committed upon our Subjects, when by our Ambassadors we had divers Times required Satisfaction and Reparation, we received no Justice or Answer worthy of him or us; our Complaints being rejected, and we disdainfully contemned: That longer to suffer such Insolences, and not by just Force to resist unjust Violence, and by Dangers to seek a Remedy against greater or more imminent Dangers: Not to stand to the Defence of our Lieges, and take upon us their Protection, were to be deficient to our Honour and Reputation, and to invite others to offer the like Assaults and Injuries to us hereafter.

Besides these Breaches of Duty, Outrages, and Wrongs done unto us, his Brother Henry King of England without any just Cause, or Violence offered to him or any of his by the King of France, hath raised a mighty Army against him, invaded his Territories, using all Hostility; continuing to Assault and Force his Towns, make his Subjects Prisoners, kill and ransom them, impose Subsidies, and raise Money from the quieter Sort. Which Wrongs, Damage and Injustice we cannot but repute done unto us, in respect of our earnest Intercessions unto him, and many Requests rejected, and that ancient League between the Two Kingdoms of France and Scotland, in which these Two Nations are obliged respectively, and mutually bound, to assist others against all Invaders whatsoever; That the Enemy of the One shall be the Enemy of the Other, and the Friends of the One the Friends of the Other. As all Motions tend unto Rest, the End of a just War being Peace, that our Brother (who hath no such Enemy as the too great Riches and Abundance in which he swimeth) may entertain Peace with his Brother Princes, and moderate that boundless Ambition, which maketh him usurp Dominion over his Equals; we have been compelled to take us to defensive Arms; for our Brother hath now declared himself, and vaunteth that he is sole Judge and Umpire of the Peace of Europe, and that from his Will, the Differences of Successions and Titles of Principalities, Wrongs and other Interests depend, as that all should be obsequious to his Authority; and what particular Authority can be more intolerable, than that he should hinder so great and just a Prince as the King of France to claim his own, and defend his Subjects.

If our Brother the King of England by the Supply and Assistance of many Neighbour Countries, now by the Provocation of the Bishop of Rome, arising upon all Sides against the French, should extend his Power and Victory over France (under what Colour and Pretence of Justice soever) to what an Extremity shall the Kingdom of Scotland be reduced, having so powerful and ambitious a Neighbour? Fear of any Neighbour Prince's Greatness, when it extendeth it self over adjacent Territories, is a good Cause of Defence and taking of Arms, which cannot be but just, since most necessary.

We are not ignorant, that here will be objected against us, the Breach of a League contracted between our Brother and us: We have not broken that League, but for great Causes and Reasons separated our selves from it, our Brother having taken away the Means, Occasions and Reasons of observing it. In all Leagues, Confederations, Alliances and Promises amongst Princes, the last Confederation is ever understood to be contracted without Prejudice to the Rights of any former Alliances. And when our Ambassadors made that League with our Brother, it was to be understood that it should hold no longer, nor we longer be bound unto it, than he should keep to our first Allies and ancient Confederates, not breaking their Peace, nor troubling the Government and Estates of their Countries. A National League is ever to be preferred to any Personal, an Ancient to a New, the Leagues between the Kingdoms of France and Scotland having continued many Ages, should justly be preferred to that which we, as a new Ally of the House of England, did contract, which yet we are most willing to keep: But the Love of our Country, passing all private Respects, hath mov'd us to separate our selves for a Time from it.

All Leagues, Confederations, Alliances and Promises amongst Princes, are respectively and mutually understood with this Condition and Law, providing both keep upon either Side; the one Party breaking or departing from the League, Alliance or Promise, the other is no longer bound to keep nor adhere unto it. So long as the King of England kept unto us, we kept unto him: He having now many Ways broken unto us, we are no longer obliged to keep unto him: That same Oath which obliged and tied us, after his Breach, absolving and making us free; and of this we divers Times advertised him, giving him Assurance, except we would betray that Trust and Confidence our Subjects and Confederates had in us, for the Maintenance of their Peace and Safety, we could not but assist them in their just Cause (howsoever the justest Actions have not ever the most profitable Events) and be constrained to have a Recourse to Arms for a Remedy of their present Misery.

And now notwithstanding of our advanced Expedition, and Preparations for War, that the World may judge rightly of our Intentions, We declare and manifest, that if our Brother shall leave off the Invasion of our Confederates, use no more Hostility against them, and give Satisfaction for the Wrongs done unto our Subjects, that we shall disband our Forces, and are content that all Matters of Difference, as well between the King of France, and our Brother, as our Brother and us, be amicably judged, decided and taken away: As that our only a Truce and Cessation of their Misery for a Time, but



*a perfect and lasting Peace be concluded and established, to the full Contentment, and lasting Happiness of the Three Kingdoms and our Posterity.*

Whilst the King stay'd at *Linlithgow*, attending the Gathering of his Army, now ready to set forward, and full of Cares and Perplexity, in the Church of *St. Michael* heard Even-song (as then it was called,) while he was at his Devotion, an ancient Man came in, his Amber-coloured Locks hanging down upon his Shoulders, his Fore-head high and enclining to Baldness, his Garment of Azure Colour, somewhat long girded about him with a Towel or Table-napkin, of a comely and Reverend Aspect. Having inquired for the King, he intruded himself into the Crowd, passing thorow till he came to him, with a Clownish Simplicity, leaning over the Canons Seat where the King sat, Sir (said he) *I am sent hither to intreat you for this Time to delay your Expedition, and to proceed no farther in your intended Journey: For if you do, ye shall not prosper in your Enterprize, nor any of your Followers. I am farther charged to warn you, if you be so refractory as to go forward, not to use the Acquaintance, Company or Counsel of Women, as ye tender your Honour, Life and Estate.*

After this Warning he withdrew himself back again into the Crowd. When Service was ended, the King enquired earnestly for him, but he could no where be found, neither could any of the By-standers (of whom diverse did narrowly observe him, meaning afterwards to have discoursed further with him) feel or perceive how, when, or where he passed from them, having as it were vanished among their Hands.

After this Army had mustered in the *Borrow-moor* of *Edinburgh* (a Field then spacious and delightful by the Shades of many stately and aged Oaks) about the Midst of the Night there is a Proclamation heard at the *Mercat Cross* of the Town, *Summoning a great many Burgesses, Gentlemen, Barons and Noblemen to appear within Forty Days before the Tribunal of one Plot-Cock: The Provost of the Town in his Timber Gallery having heard his own Name cired, cried out, That he declined that Judicatory, and appeal'd to the Mercy of God Almighty.*

Nothing was the King moved with those Advertisements, thinking them Scenick Pieces, acted by those who hated the French, and favoured the English Faction: Being so boldly and to the Life personated, that they appalled and struck with Fear ordinary and vulgar Judgments, as Tragi-Comedies of Spirits. The Earl of *Angus* dissuaded him from that Expedition, and many of the most Reverend Church-Men; but the Angel which most conjured him, was *Margaret* his Queen, who at that Time was with Child; her Tears and Prayers shook the strongest Beams of his Resolutions. She had acquainted him with the Visions and Affrightments of her Sleep; that her Chains and Armlets appeared to be turned into Pearls; she had seen him fall from a great Precipice; she had lost One of her Eyes. When he had answered, *These were but Dreams, arising from the many Thoughts and Cares of the Day. But it is no Dream (said she) that ye have but one Son, and him a Weakling; if otherwise than well happen unto you, What a lamentable Day will that be, when ye shall leave behind you, to so tender and weak a Successor, under the Government of a Woman, for Inheritance, a miserable and bloody War? It is no Dream that ye are to fight a mighty People; now turned insolent by their Riches at Home and Power abroad: That your Nobility are indigent ye know, and may be brib'd to leave you in your greatest Danger: What a Folly, what a Blindness is it to make this War yours, and to quench the Fire in your Neighbour's House of France, to kindle and burn up your own in Scotland? Ye have no such Reason to assist the French, as ye have to keep your Promises to England, and enjoy a Peace at Home. Though the English should make a Conquest of France, will they take your Crown, or disinherit their own Race, this is even as the Left Hand would cut off the Right? Should the Letters of the Queen of France, (a Woman twice married (the first Half in Adultery, the last almost Incest) whom ye did never, nor shall ever see) prove more powerful with you, than the Cries of your little Son, and mine; than the Tears, Complaints, and Curses of the Orphans and Widows which ye are to make? If ye will go, suffer me to accompany you; it may be my Country-men prove more kind towards me than they will to you; and for my Sake yield unto a Peace. I hear the Queen my Sister will be with the Army in her Husband's Absence; if we shall meet, Who knows what God by our Means may bring to pass?*

The King answered all her Complaints with a speedy March, which he made over the *Tweed*, not staying till the whole Forces came to him, which were arising and prepared.

The Twenty Two of *August* coming into *England*, he encamped near the Water of *Twisfel* in *Northumberland*, where at *Twisfel-haugh* he made an Act, That if any Man were slain or hurt to Death by the English, during the Time of his Abode in *England*, his Heirs should have his Ward, Relief, and Marriage. *Norham, Wark, Ford, Eatel*, are taken and cast down. Amidst this Hostility, the Lady *Ford* (a noble Captive) was brought in a Pity-pleading Manner, with her Daughter (a Maid of excellent Beauty) to the Camp. Not without the Earl of *Surrey's* Direction, as many supposed, for they have a vigorous Prince, and his Son (though Natural, by the Gifts of Nature and Education above many lawful) totty the Magick of their Eloquence and Beauty upon. The King delighting in their Company, not only hearkneth to the Discourse of



of the Mother, but giveth Way to her Counsel: Which was, if she should be dismissed, to send him due and certain Intelligence of what the *English* would attempt, by taking her away to their Camp: But in Effect proved the winning of Time to the Earl of *Surrey*, and the losing of Occasion to him. Her few Days Stay bred in him a Kind of Carelessness, Sloth, Procrastination and Delay, a Neglect, and as it were a Forgetfulness, of his Army and Business. Eighteen Days tarrying in *England*, in a Territory not very fertile, had consum'd much Provision, the Soldiers began to want Necessaries, and a Number in the Night by blind Paths returned to their own Country: In a short Time, only the Noblemen, and their Vassals attending the King. These request him not to spend more Time on that barren Soil, but to turn their Forces against *Berwick*, which Town was of more Importance, than all the Hamlets and poor Villages of *Northumberland*: Neither was it impregnable or difficult to be taken, the Town and Castle being no Ways provided and furnished to endure a Siege. The Courtiers move the King to continue the beleaguering of *Berwick* till their coming back; which would be an easy Conquest, *Northumberland* once forrag'd, in Absence of the bravest of the *English* then in *France*.

Whilst the Army languished, and the King spent Time at *Ford*, the Earl of *Surrey* directeth an Herald to his Camp, requiring him either to leave off the Invasion of his Master's Country, and turn back, giving Satisfaction for Wrongs committed; or that he would appoint a Day and Place wherein all Differences might be ended by the Sword. This Challenge being advised in Council, most Voices were, "That they should return Home, and not with so small a Number, as remained, endanger the State of the whole Kingdom, enough being already achieved for Fame, and too much for their Friendship with *France*: Why should a few Soldiers, and these already tired out by forcing of Strengths and throwing down Castles, be hazarded against such Multitudes of the *English*, supplied lately and increased with fresh Auxiliaries?" *Thomas Howard* Admiral, a Son of the Earl of *Surrey*, having newly brought with him to *New-Castle* out of the Army lying in *France* Five Thousand chosen Men, and One Thousand tall Seamen. If they should return Home, the *English* Army could not but disband, and not conveniently this Year be gathered again, consisting of Men levied from far and distant Places. Again if they should be engaged to come to a Battle; their own Country, being Fields to them well known, would prove more commodious and secure to fight upon, than *English* Ground, besides the Opportunity of furnishing and providing the Camp with all Necessaries at less Charges. The *French* Ambassador and others of his Faction remonstrate to the King, "What a shameful Retreat he would make, if at the Desire of the Enemy he returned, and without the Hazard of a Battel, being so near unto him; that by Fighting in *England*, he kept his own Country unforged; and consum'd the Provision of his Enemy, which at last would weaken his Forces: That for Contentment to both Armies, *Islay* a *Scottish* Herald should return with *Rouge-Croix* the *English*, and condescend upon a Day, promising them in the mean Time Tarrying and Abode, till the Righteousness of the Cause were decided in a Battel.

The set and appointed Day by the Heralds, in which the Two Armies should have joined, being come, and the *English* not appearing, nor any from them, the Nobility again resort to the King, and show, "How, by the Slight of the Enemy, Matters were prolonged and delayed from one Day to another: The *English* Forces daily increasing, whilst the *Scottish* wear away, and waxed fewer; that Slight should be opposed to Slight; the Day designed by the Heralds not being kept, it would be no Reproach to them to turn Home without Battel, or, if retiring, to fight upon their own Ground. If this Counsel pleased him not, but that he would there give them Battel, the next was to study all Advantages for Victory, either by Stratagem, or the Odds and Furtherance of the Place of Fight; where the *Cheviot* Hills decline towards the plainer Fields arising behind them with high Tops, with best Ordnance should be fortified; the Water of *Till* running deep and Fordless upon the right Hand, and but passable at the Bridge, the first Companies of the Enemy being passed, before they could be relieved and succoured by their Followers, the Bridge by the Artillery should be beaten down, and the Enemy charged when they began to pass the Water.

The King, impatient of Counsel, answered, "Though their Number increased to as many more as they were, he with that Remainder of his Army would fight them. That Advantages were to be embraced according to the Occasion of the Fight without tedious Deliberation; if any Man was afraid he might, if he pleased, return Home. A strange Resolution in a Prince, who imagined every Man in his Army to have the same Strength, Courage, Boldness and Resolution with himself.

This Answer astonished the Nobility, and since they could not persuade him to a fair Retreat, but that he will fight, and that without the Advantage of the Bridge, being inferior in Number to the *English* (for they were reckoned by the Scouts Six and Twenty Thousand) they fortify themselves according to the Commodity of the Hill, where they lay encamped, with a Resolution not to suffer the King to hazard his Person in the Battel. If Victory should incline to them, their Gains were but small, and Glory less, extending but over some few of the Nobility;



bility, and a small Parcel of the Body of the State of *England*; and a Number of Yeomen, and pressed Horsemen, the Flower of the Kingdom being in *France*. But if they were overthrown, their Loss would prove incomparable, yea unspeakable, a Martial young King either kill'd, taken, or put to Flight: Wherefore they think it fitting, not necessary, the King be pleased, with so many as either Chance or Election might separate with him, to be a Spectator of the Fortune of the Day. To this the King replied, "He neither wanted Ability to discharge the Part of a Souldier, nor Wisdom to Command as a General, and to outlive so many valiant Country-Men, would be more terrible to him than Death it self. When forced to give Way for his Personal Presence in the Field, they appoint some to be arrayed in like Furniture of Arms, and a like Guard as the King; Shadows to personate him in sundry Quarters of the Field, that the Enemy should not set One Man as their chief Mark to invade, from whose Death the Victory and Conclusion of the War might depend: And if the King should fall, the Army should not lose Courage, nor be brought to believe he were lost, so long as they saw a General, with his Cognizance and Guard present and near them to be a Witness of their Valour and Atchievements, as not long before, at the Battel of *Fornou* in *Italy*, had been practised by the *French* to their King *Charles*.

By this Time the Earl of *Surrey*, with the Power of the North of *England*, was come within Three Miles of the Place, where the *Scottish* Army was encamped, and perceiving he could not but with great Disadvantage fight them; he sendeth an Herald requiring the King to come forth of his Strength to some indifferent Ground, where he would be ready to encounter him. The King being forward to condescend to this Request, the Lords cryed out; "It was Madness to accept of Opportunity of fighting from his Enemies, and to set all at a main Chance according to their Appointment, it being their Advantage to prolong Time, and trifle with him, in whose Camp there was already Scarcity of Victuals, which ere long might put him to such a Stand, that he should not know well what to do. Neither was it likely he could be furnished from the inner Parts of the Country, by Reason of the cumbersome Ways for Carriages to pass, after the falling of so great and continued Rains, and the softening of the Ground: That by sitting still, and committing nothing to Fortune, he might have his Enemy at his Pleasure; if they dared assail him, at their Perils be it. He lacked nothing but Patience to be victorious.

The *Scots* keeping their Trenches, the Earl essayeth to draw them out, and the Ninth of September, removing his Camp, marcheth towards the same Hill of *Flowden* where they lay encamped; his Vant-guard with the Cannon, passeth the Water of *Till* at *Twisfel* Bridge, the Rearward going over at *Mylnford*. King *James* seeing them pass the Water, imagineth they meant to win a Hill between his Camp and them; to prevent which (setting Fire to the Cabanes raised of Boughs of Trees and Reeds) he removeth to another Hill, before the *English* could observe his Motion, the Smoke darkning the Air between the Two Armies. Whilst the *Scottish* Army was removing, the *English* advance to the Foot of *Flowden* Hill, by which they have double Advantage, the *Scottish* Ordnance could not much annoy them, they marching upwards, and under the Level thereof; again, by their Shot, they might easily gall their Enemies as they came downwards upon them.

The fatal Hour of the Battel approaching, the *English* draw up in good Order Six and Twenty Thousand Men (some write Thirty) in Two Battels, any of which was equal in Number to the whole *Scottish* Army. *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Admiral, had the Vant-guard, of which *Sir Edmund Howard* his Brother led one of the Wings, and *Sir Marmaduke Constable* the other; The Lords *Dacres* and *Clifford*, with *Sir Edward Stanley* kept the Rear: The Earl of *Surrey* with *Latimer*, *Scroop*, and *Sir Stephen Bull* kept the main Battel. The *Scots* by their Fewness of Number, not being able to order many Battalions, marshal themselves in Four, Three of which should enter in Fight, and the Fourth attend for Supply. The King kept the Middle or Main; *Alexander Gordon* Earl of *Huntley* had the right Wing of the Van; the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montrose* led the other, and some have recorded, the Lord *Hume*. The Third Army was guided by *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, where was *Mackenzie* and *Macklean*, with the Fierceness of the High-landers. *Adam Hepburn* Earl of *Borthwell* with his Friends and the Flower of the Gentry of *Lothian*, kept off for sudden Dispatches and Chances of the Battel.

The Earl of *Huntly* making down the Hill, where they encamp near the Foot of *Bramx Town*, encountreth that Wing of the *English* Host, which was led by *Sir Edmund Howard*, which after a furious and long Fight he put to Flight, and so eagerly pursued the Advantage, that *Sir Edmund* had either been killed or taken, if he had not been rescued by *Bastard Heron* and the Lord *Dacres*. The Battalion which the Earls of *Lennox* and *Argyle* led (being High-land Men) encouraged with this First Glance of Victory, loosing their Ranks, abandoning all Order (for ought that the *French* Ambassador *La Motte* by Signs, Threatnings and Clamours, could do to hold them) broke furiously upon the Enemy, and invade him in the Face, of whom they are not only valiantly received, but, by *Sir Edward Stanley*'s traversing the Hill, enclosed, cut down at their Backs and prostrated. The Middle Ward, which the King led, with which now the Earl of *Borthwell* with the Power of

*Lothian*



*Lochian* was joined, fought it out courageously Body against Body, and Sword to Sword. Numbers upon either Side falling, till Darkness and the black Shadows of the Night, forced, as it were by Consent of both, a Retreat: Neither of them understanding the Fortune of the Day, and unto whom Victory appertained.

Many brave Scots did here fall, esteemed to be above Five Thousand, of the noblest and worthiest Families of the Kingdom: Who choosed rather to die, than outlive their Friends and Compatriots.

The King's Natural Son *Alexander* Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, the Bishop of the *Isles*, the Abbots of *Incheffray* and *Kilwinning*, the Earls of *Crawford*, *Morton*, *Argyle*, *Lennox*, *Errol*, *Caithness*, *Borbwell*, *Atbole*, the Lords *Elphinston*, *Erskin*, *Forbes*, *Rofs*, *Lovet*, *Sinclair*, *Maxwell*, with his Three Brothers, *Semple*, *Borwick*; Numbers of Gentlemen, *Balgony*, *Blackader*, *Bonbard*, Sir *Alexander Seton*, *Mackenzie*, with *Macklean*, *George* Master of *Angus*, and Sir *William Douglas* of *Glenberoy*, with some Two Hundred Gentlemen of their Name and Vassals were here slain.

The *English* left few less upon the Place, but most Part of them being of the common Sort of Souldiers, and Men of no great Mark, compared with so many Nobles killed, and a King lost, the Number was not esteemed, nor the Loss thought any Thing of.

The Companies of the Lord *Hume* had reserved themselves all the Time of the Fight, keeping their first Order; and when by the Earl of *Huntly*, he was required to relieve the Battallion where the King fought, he is said to have answered, *That that Man did well that Day who stood and saved himself*. After the Retreat, his Followers gathered a great Booty of the Spoils of the Slaughtered. This Fight began September 9th, about Four of the Clock after Noon, and continued Three Hours, *Ann. 1513*.

About the Dawning of the next Morning, the Lord *Dacres* with his Troops taking a View of the Field, and seeing the brazen Ordnance of the Scots not transported, with most Part of the fallen Bodies not rifled, sendeth speedy Advertisement to the *Howards* and the pensive Army; inviting all to the setting up Trophies, Spoil, and transporting of the great Ordnance to *Berwick*, amongst which were Seven Culverins, of like Size and Make, called the *Seven Sisters*.

Divers diversly report of the Fortune of the King: We, without affirming any Thing for certain, shall only set down what Fame hath published; a false Witness often of humane Accidents, and which many Times, by malignant Brains is forged, and by more malignant Ears received and believed. The *English* hold that he was killed in this Battel; the Scots that many in like Arms with the like Guards, were killed, every One of which was held for the King: Amongst others *Alexander* Lord *Elphinston*, his Favourite, who had married *Elizabeth* Barley, one of the Dames of Honour of Queen *Margaret*. He was a Man not unlike to the King in Face and Stature, and representing him in Arms in the Field, with the valiantest and most courageous of the Army fought it out, and acting Heroically his Part, as a King was killed, Heaps of slaughtered Bodies environing his. In the Search where the Fight was, the Number, Tallness, and Furniture of the dead Bodies being observed, their Faces and Wounds viewed, his Body, as if it yet breathed Majesty, was amidst the others selected, acknowledged for his Master's, brought to *Berwick* and embalmed. That it was not the Body of the King, the Girdle of Iron, which he ever wore, and then was not found about him, gave some, though not certain, Testimony.

Some have recorded, That the Fortune of the Day inclining to the *English*, Four tall Men mounted upon lusty Horses, wearing upon the Points of their Launces, for Cognizances, Streamers of Straw, mounting the King on a Sorrel Hackney, convoyed him far from the Place of Fight, and that he was seen beyond the *Tweed*, between *Kelfo* and *Duns*. After which, what became of him is uncertain. Many hold, he was killed in the Castle of *Hume*, either by the Intelligence between the *English* and the Lord *Hume's* Kindred, or out of Fear (for they were at the Slaughter of the King's Father, and the most violent in that Fight) or of Hopes of great Fortunes, which would follow Innovations, and the Confusion of the State, being men who liv'd best in a troubl'd Commonwealth and upon the Borders.

One *Carr*, a Follower of the Lord *Hume's*, that same Night the Battle was fought, thrust the Abbot of *Kelfo* out of his Abbacy: Which he never durst attempt, the King being alive. Another, *David Carbreath*, in the Time of *John* the Governour, vaunted, that however *John* wronged the *Humes*, he was one of Six who had abated the Insolence of King *James*, and brought him to know he was Mortal. To these is added, that the Governour *John*, not long hereafter, did cut off the Heads of the Lord *Hume*, and his Brother, without any known great Cause. The common People (ever more addicted to Superstition than Verity) believed he was living, and had passed over the Seas, and according to his Promise, visited the holy Sepulchre in *Palestine*: And that there, for his other Offences, and the bearing of Arms against his Father, in Prayers and Penance, he spent the Remainder of His tedious Days. That he would return again when he found Opportunity, and the Necessity of *Europe* requir'd him. This Report was of as great Truth, as that which the *Britains* have of the Return of their King *Arthur* and the *Burgundians* not long before conceived of their Duke *Charles* after the Battle of *Nancy*, most of them believing escaped from the Conflict. He was lost the Twenty Fifth Year of his Reign, the Thirty Ninth of his Age.



This King was of a vigorous Body, his Stature being neither too tall nor too low, of a pleasant Countenance, of a pregnant Wit, but by the Faults of the Times in which he lived, not polished with Letters. He excelled in Horse-manship, Fencing and Shooting. By much Watching, slender Diet, and Use, he was enabled to endure all Extremities of Weather, Scarcity, and Want of Rest, with good Health of Body.

He was just in giving Judgment, in punishing Malefactors severe, yet tractable and moderate. With the Peril of some few he restrained Vices, and rather shook the Sword than struck with it. He knew there were some Things, though Princes might, yet they ought not to do. He was easy of Access, most courteous in Speech, and meek in answering every Man. He was so far from being overtaken with Anger, or other violent Perturbations, that he was never observed to have given an evil or disobliging Word to any, or that the Colour of his Face changed by any Offence offered him, or Informations given him, relying without Passion upon his own Magnanimity.

He was of a free and liberal Disposition, far from any Ostentation. As he understood well the Art of giving, so to acquire and purchase he was not sufficient of himself, but made use of Men, who drew more Hatred upon their own Heads, than Money into their Prince's Coffers.

Tho' he delighted more in *Mars* than the *Muses*, he was a great Admirer and Advancer of learned Men. *William Elphinston* Bishop of *Aberdeen* builded by his Liberality, the College of *Aberdeen*, and named it *The King's College*, by Reason of those Privileges and Rents the King bestowed upon it.

His Generosity did shew it self in not delivering of *Perkin Warbeck*: He trusted much, and had great Confidence in his Nobility, and governed by Love not by Fear his People.

It is no Wonder, amidst so much Worth, that some Humane Frailty, and some according Discord be found. There is no Day so bright and fair, which one Moment or other, looketh not pale, and remaineth not with some dampish Shadow of discoloured Clouds. He was somewhat wedded to his own Humor, opiniative and rash; Actions of Rashness and Temerity, even although they may have an happy Event, being never Praise-worthy in a Prince. He was so infected with that illustrious Crime, which the Ambitious take for Virtue, Desire of Fame, that he preferred it to his own Life, and the Peace of his Subjects.

He so affected Popularity, and endeavoured to purchase the Love of his People, by Largesses, Banqueting, and other Magnificence, diving himself in Debt; that by those Subsidies and Exactions, which of Necessity he should have been constrained to have levied and squeezed from the People, longer Life had made him lose all that Favour and Love he had so painfully purchased, that Death seemed to have come to him wishedly, and in good Time.

The wedding of other's Quarrels, especially of the *French*, seemeth in him inexcusable; a wise Prince should be slow and loath to engage himself in a War, although he hath suffered some Wrong. He should consider that of all humane Actions and Hazards there is no One of which the Precipitation is so dangerous, as that of beginning and undertaking a War. Neither, in humane Affairs, should there more Depths be founded, nor hidden Passages searched and pryed into, than in this. He should remember, that besides the sad Necessity which is inseparable from the most innocent War (the wasting and destroying of the Goods and Lives of much People) there is Nothing of which the Revolutions and Changes are more inconstant, and the Conclusions and Ends more uncertain.

The Sea is not more treacherous, false and deceiving, nor changeth more swiftly her Calms into Storms, than Wars and the Fortune of Arms do, the Event and Success belying the Beginning. It is not enough that a Prince know a War which he undertaketh to be just, but he should consider also if it be necessary, and if it be profitable, and conduce to the State which he governeth.

As Men of strong and healthful Bodies follow ordinarily Delight in their Youth, he was sometimes amourosly carried away. He confined the Earl of *Angus* in the Isle of *Arran*, for taking *Jane Kennedy*, a Daughter of the Earl of *Cassils*, out of *Galloway*, a fair and Noble Lady, of whom he became enamoured as he went in his Pilgrimage to *St. Ninian's*. In his last Expedition the Lady *Ford* was thought to have hindred the Progress of his Arms, and hasten'd the Success of the Battel.

Though Virtue be sometimes unfortunate, yet is it ever in an high Esteem in the Memories of Men: Such a Desire remained of him in the Hearts of his People, after his Loss, that the like was not of any King before him: Princes who are out of this Life being only the Delights and Darlings of a People. *Anne the French* Queen not many Days out-lived the Rumour of his Death. He serves for an Example of the Frailty of great Men on the Theatre of this World, and of the Inconstancy of all Sublinary Things.

He had Children, *James* and *Arthur*, who dyed Infants; *James* who succeeded him; *Alexander*, born after his Death, who died young; *Alexander* a natural Son, Arch-Bishop of *Sr. Andrew's*, so much admired and regreted by *Erasmus*; *Margaret*, of a Daughter of the Lord *Drummond's* married to the Earl of *Huntley* (whose Mother had been contracted to the King, and taken away (to his great Regret) by those who governed the State, that he should not follow the Example of King *Robert* his Predecessor, who married a Lady of that Family) and *James* Earl of *Murray*.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
LIFE and REIGN  
OF  
JAMES the Fifth,  
King of Scotland.

**T**HE fatal Accident and Overthrow of the King, and Flower of the Nobility of Scotland, at *Flodden*, filled the remnant of the State with great Sorrow, but with greater Amazement and Perplexity: For by this great Change they expected no less than the Progress and Advancement of the Victor's Arms and Fortune, and feared the Conquest, Servitude and Desolation of the whole Kingdom. The rigorous Season of the Year being spent in Mourning and performing the funeral Rites for their lost Kinsmen and Friends; and the gathering together the floating Ribs and dispersed Planks of this Ship-wreck; the Peers assembled at *Stirling*, where applying themselves to set their Confusions in Order, and determine on the Remedies of their present Evils, the lively Pourtrait of their Calamities did represent itself to the full View. The Head and fairest Parts, which Majesty, Authority, Direction, and Wisdom had made eminent, were cut away, some turbulent Church-Men, Orphan and Noblemen, and timorous Citizens fill'd their vacant Places; and many who needed Directions themselves, were placed to direct and guide the Helm of State: Such Miseries being always incident to a People, where the Father of the Country is taken away, and the Successor is of Underage. In this Maze of Perplexity, to disoblige themselves of their greatest Duty, and give Satisfaction to the most and best, the lawful Successor and Heir, *JAMES* the Prince, is set on the Throne and crowned, being at that Time one Year Five Months and Ten Days of Age, and the Hundreth and Fifth King of Scotland. The last Will and Testament, which the late King had left before his Expedition, being publicly seen and approved, the Queen challenges the Protection of the Realm and Tutelage of her Son, as disposed unto her so long as she continued a Widow, and followed the Counsel and Advice of the Chancellor of the Realm, and some other grave Counsellours, and she obtaineth it; as well out of a Religion they had to fulfill the Will of their deceased Sovereign, as to shun and be freed of the imminent Arms and eminent Danger of her Brother the King of England. Being established in the Government, and having from all that Respect, Reverence and Obedience, which belong to such a Princess, she sent Letters to the King of England; "That having Compassion upon the Tears and Prayers of a Widow, of his Sister, of an Orphan, of his Nephew, he would not only cease from following the War upon Scotland (than at War with it self, and many Ways divided) but, ennobled by Courage and Goodness, be a Defence unto her and the Infant, her Son, against all Injuries to be offered them by Foreigners abroad, or any of the factious Nobility, who would oppose themselves against her at Home. To which King *Henry* answered, "That with the peaceable he would entertain Peace, and with the Froward and Turbulent, War; if the Scots would live in Peace, they should have it for his Part, but if they would rather fight, he was not to refuse them. That her Husband had fallen by his own indiscreet Rashness, and foolish Kindness to France: That he regarded his Death as his Ally, and should be willing to prohibit all Hostility against the Country of Scotland, during the Minority of her Son. For a Remedy of present Evils, One Year's Truce and a Day longer was yielded unto; in which Time he had Leisure to prosecute



his Designs against *France*, without Fear of being disturbed or diverted by the Incursions and Inroads of the *Scots* upon his Borders.

The Government of a Woman and a Child over a People, ever in Motion, Mutinous and delighting in Changes, could not long subsist firm, nor continue after one Fashion. The First Shake and Disorders of the Kingdom arose, and were occasioned by the Ambition and Avarice of the Church-men (the Moth-worms of State) being seconded by the Factious Nobles and Malecontents, concerning the Distribution of the Offices, Places, and Benefices, vacant by the Deaths of those slain in the late Battel. *Andrew Forman* Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, Bishop of *Murray*, and Legate to Pope *Julius*, *Gavin Douglas* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, Uncle to the Earl of *Angus*, and *John Hepburn* Prior of *St. Andrew's*, contend all Three for the Arch-Bishoprick of *St. Andrew's*. *Gavin Douglas* was presented to it by the Queen, *Andrew Forman* by the Pope, *John Hepburn* was chosen by the Chapter his Canons, and sundry of the Nobility favoured his Election; they said also, that the Place whilst it was vacant belonged unto him: And his Party was so strong that none durst publish the Pope's Bull in Favour of *Andrew Forman* for many Days: Till *Alexander* Lord *Hume* then Chamberlain, and Warden of the East Marches, won by many Promises, and the Abbacy of *Coldingham* engaged and presently given in Hand to his younger Brother *David*, in Despite of the Opposition of the Lord *Hailes* and the Faction of the *Hepburns*, then seditious and powerful, well backed by his Friends, Vassals, and Adherents all in Arms, caused publish and proclaim it at the Market Cross of *Edinburgh*: Which Action first incensed the Prior to plot Mischief against the Family of the *Humes*. *William Elphinston* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, by many of the Clergy and some of the Nobility, had been desired to accept this Dignity, but he refused it, being now weary of earthly Greatness, and making for another World; for at this Time at *Edinburgh* he left this.

As ordinarily when one Faction is near extinguished, the Remnant subdivideth, after those Jars of the Church-men, which were cherished by the Nobility, the Nobles began to jar among themselves, and grudge at others Preferments. *Alexander* Lord *Gordon*, ruled and commanded the Countries North-ward the River of *Forth*; as *Alexander* Lord *Hume* usurped almost a Royal Authority, and commanded over the Countries on the South-Side of the *Forth*; the Earl of *Angus* went about a fairer Conquest.

*James*, Earl of *Arran* Lord *Hamilton*, being nearest in Blood to the King, could not but with Indignation look upon the undeserved Greatness of these Usurpers. Under the Shadow of this Oligarchy, turbulent, evil-disposed, and Men abhorring Quietness, ravaged the Country, and did what they pleased.

Amidst these Confusions, the Queen in *April* brought forth a posthumous Child in the Castle of *Stirling*, whom the Bishop of *Cathness*, Abbot of *Dumfermling*, and the Arch-Dean of *St. Andrew's*, baptized and named *Alexander*. After she was recovered and had acquired her wonted Strength of Body, she found the Authority of her Place was turned weak, and that she enjoyed nothing but the Name of Governing, the People delighting to live rather without Rule and in all Disorders, than to be subject to the Obedience of a Woman, though a Queen. After great Deliberation and many Essays in vain to curb their Insolence, and vindicate her Authority from their Contempt, as also to save her Son from the Dangers of an insulting Nobility, and settle her Estate, she resolved to match with some Nobleman, eminent in Power and Worth, who could and would protect her and hers in the greatest Extremities. Amongst the Choice of the young Noblemen of *Scotland*, for a long Succession of renowned Ancestors, Comeliness of Person, noble Conversation, and Prudence in Affairs of State, being lovely, courteous, liberal and wise, none was comparable to the Earl of *Angus*: Him she determines to make Partner of her Royal Bed and Fortunes; and as ordinarily in Matters of Love, it falleth out, by the Impatience of Delay, without acquainting her Brother the King of *England*, or the Nobles of the Kingdom with her Design, she afterwards marieth him, transferring, if she could, the whole Weight of the Kingdom and the Reins of the Government of the State into his Hands, having no more Freedom in her own Determinations.

No sooner was this revealed to the World, when the Nobility and Gentry divided into Two Factions, one adhering to the *Douglas*, in whom Kindred, Friendship and long Observance had bred Hopes of Benefits and Preferment; another of such whom Envy of his Greatness and Advancement had made hungry of Change. The First would have the Government continued in the Queen's Person and her Husband's: Because hereby the Realm should still have Peace with *England*, which at that Time was the most necessary Point to be respected. The adverse Party, of which the Lord Chamberlain was the principal, who was a Man both in Power, Parentage, and Riches equal to, (if not beyond) many of the great Men of the Country, importuned the Election of a new Governour and Protector of the young King. The Queen losing by her Marriage both the Tutelage of her Son and the Government, should not take it to Heart that another were chosen and put in her Place. Her marrying the Earl of *Angus* had made him too great already to be a Subject; the continuing of her in Authority would promote him to the Greatness of a Prince: Who should be Governour, is upon both Sides long and contentiously



tionally argued. Many gave their Voices for the Earl of *Arran*, as being near in Blood to the King, and a Man affecting Peace more than others, and every Way sufficient for such a Charge. The Chamberlain had determined of another, and told, it was a Wrong to barr from so high an Honour a Man of the Masculine Line in Blood to the King, and prefer one of the Feminine. *John Duke of Albany*, Son to *Alexander Duke of Albany*, the Brother of King *James III*, before all others, by all Reason should be preferred to the Government. Being demanded if he would be the First, to give Example to others, who would set his Hand to this Election, he without Pausing performed it, with a Protestation, that tho' the rest of the Nobility opposed it, as to his coming into *Scotland* to accept the Government, he alone would go *France*, charge him with it, be his Convey hither, and maintain his Title.

This he was thought to have done, for that, despairing to reach and obtain this Dignity himself, out of Emulation, he laid a Design, that never any other of the Nobles of the Kingdom should reach it; affecting rather to give a Stranger the Place, than a Competitor, bringing in the *French* to equal the Ballance as Principal, himself only as Accessory, nothing doubting of a chief Place in State, as well for his Forwardness in this Election, as for the Necessity of his Service which the *French* could not well want, and should never be lacking. He feared also, if the Faction of the *Dowglasses* prevail'd, the Greatness of the Earl of *Angus* would be an Umbrage to his, and lessen and impair it; their Lands and Fortunes lying near to other, as that the Queen by her Power in *England* would cross his fairest Projects.

The King of *England* had sent a Letter to the Lords of *Scotland* (as he had done to the *French* King for that same Effect) remonstrating how dangerous it was for the State of *Scotland*, and the young King, if they should make Choice of the Duke of *Albany*.

Notwithstanding all which, through Ambition, Malice, Envy of others, Discords among themselves, they made Choice of this Gentleman, a Stranger by his Education and Birth, ignorant of the Nature and Manners of the *Scots*; whose Father was banished for Treason against his Brother, and died un-restored; one altogether devoted to the *French* King, and an Enemy to the *English*; not caring to keep the Country of *Scotland* in Wars and Troubles, so he might defend the *French* Nation, by making the *Scots* fight their Battels.

After many private Letters from his Friends in *Scotland* (especially from the Chamberlain) inviting him to come Home, and accept his new Dignity, the Duke at last is required by the States, and Lyon King of Arms is directed to him, to acquaint him with their Proceedings, and make him forward on his Way. He to endear his coming, and make himself the more desired of the People, excusing his Stay for a while (which he laid upon the Treaty of Peace, which was then to be agreed upon between *England* and *France*, by the Marriage of *Lewis* the *French* King with *Mary*, the youngest Sister of *Henry* King of *England*, which required his Presence) sendeth Home the King of Arms with Letters from the *French* King, with Sir *Anthony Darcey le Sieur de la Beauté*. This Man proposed certain Conditions, which the Duke required: What should be the Form of his Government, his Guards, what Castles should be delivered to him for his Garrisons; the restoring his Patrimony and Father's Dignities to him. Which Particularities being condescended unto, the Castle of *Dumbar* was instantly delivered to *la Beauté* to be kept for a *French* Garrison at the Duke's coming; and Sir *Patrick Hamilton*, Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, *James Ogilvy* Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, with the King of Arms, were sent back again to *France*. After their Arrival the Duke of *Albany*, being furnished with all Necessaries by the *French* King, with Eight well rigged Ships took the Seas, and in the Month of *May* arrived on the West Coasts of *Scotland*, from whence with a great Retinue of the Nobles and Barons of the Country, by easy Journeys, the Queen meeting him, he came to the Town of *Edinburgh*. In the Parliament which had been prorogued for his coming, the Duke accepted the Government of the Kingdom, and gave his Oath of Fidelity to the King and Country, and the Three Estates gave their Oath of Obedience to him, and both swore, That in the Administration of Justice, neither should be deficient to others. Here is he restored to all his Father's Inheritance, Titles and Honours: Being declared Duke of *Albany*, Earl of *March*, and Governour of the Kingdom till the King's full Maturity. Many Laws are made for the Well of the Kingdom, and to gratify his Linage, *James* the natural Son of *James IV* is created Earl of *Murray*.

At the Presence of this new Governour, the Face of the State turned more beautiful, and the Court more Royal; Oppression is restrained, Justice sincerely executed, the Court is frequented with good and virtuous Men, and Malefactors and naughty Persons banish themselves. He maketh a Progress to all the notable Towns of the Kingdom, seeing Crimes punished and Faults amended. Being a Stranger, and not thoroughly acquainted with the Municipal Statutes and particular Practices of the Country, in great and important Matters, he proceedeth by the Instructions and Informations of some choise Men of the Nation it self. Especially since he was not infinite to listen to the Advice of every one, he gave himself to hearken and follow the Opinion and Counsel of *John Hepburn* Prior of *St. Andrew's*; whose Judgment, in his greatest Difficulties, he receives as an Oracle. This Man being of a subtil Wit, malicious, crafty, rich, and endued with some Courtly Eloquence, by a counterfeit

Pretence



Pretence of Knowledge of the Affairs of the Kingdom and State (neither in some Things did he err) at first being very familiar with the Duke, and in a little Time after, by bribing secretly some of his choice Servants, turned his only Privado, and almost possessed alone his Judgment and Ear. " He informed him of the Strength and Riches of the Country, of the Nature " of the People, and Manner of their Laws; and revealed to him many Secrets of the Govern- " ment. He gave him a Catalogue of the whole deadly Feuds and Divisions amongst the " Noblemen and Gentry, opening unto him which were inveterate, and had long continued, " and which were recent, and upon what Accidents they had their Beginnings. How in pro- " secuting Revenge in them, they cared not how innocent any Man was, if he were of the " Name and Alliance, but rather thought the more innocent any was, the more it testified " their Spite, which they desired to manifest by taking him away. He shewed him what Fa- " ctions were in the Kingdom, who sway'd them, and were the Heads. He told him the " Scots were a Violent fierce People, mutinously Proud, and knew not whom to obey without " the Sword were drawn. That they were never absolutely governed by their own Kings " themselves, far less would they be ruled by him who was but a Governour, and half a " Stranger. King *James I.* they had killed; they had made a League against King *James II.* " in open Battel they had overthrown King *James III.*; and the last King was, by best Judge- " ments, thought to have been secretly taken away: Here (calling to mind the proclaiming " of the Arch-Bishop *Andrew Forman's* Bull) he omitted nothing could derogate from the " Chamberlain's Reputation and Honour, and breed an evil Opinion of him in the Gover- " nor.

" He instructed him, how the great Houses of *Scotland* were so jointed and linked together, " by Kindred, Alliances, Bonds of Service, or Man-rent, that no Gentleman of any Quality, " although a Malefactor and a guilty Person, could be presented to Justice without some Stir, " Commotion, or Tumult of the Grandees and their factious Friends. Amidst so many strong " Parties and Confederate Malecontents, the Governour by the Power of the *Scots* themselves, " and his own Kindred, Friends and Followers, was not powerful enough safely to administer " Justice. For which Cause, the King of *France* should be implored to send hither competent " Forces to quell the Insolences, and shake the Pride of the factious Nobles. The Heads of the " Factions, which had a principal Sway in the Kingdom at that Time, would either be cut off, " or kept under, but with such Cunning and Dexterity, that it should not be perceived nor found " out. That many were aimed at and interested when some few did suffer and fall. That for the " Present, there were Three Heads to be looked unto, as feared, and like to bring Novations in " the State, being Men able to change the present Government.

" The Earl of *Angus*, a Man in the Prime of his Youth, of high-flying Thoughts by his Alliance " with the King of *England*, and that Estimation the People conceived of him by the Merits of " his Ancestors, and the singular Love the Subjects bare him, carried a Mind above the Fortune " of a private Man, and seemed not born to live a Subject's Life; each Action of his bearing in " it Majesty and Magnificence; he had Power to hurt if he would hurt.

" The Lord Chamberlain, a Man unpolish'd, stubbornly stout, hazardous, mighty in Riches " and Power, and consequently proud; of a working Mind and vehement Spirit, whom " Time and Experience had hardned by great Exploits and dangerous Actions, who had had " the Malice to be a Spectator of the Discomfiture of his Prince and Country-men at *Flowden*, " was likely to attend the Opportunity of Traverses and Changes.

" The Third was the Arch-Bishop *Andrew Forman*, once Secretary to the Pope, who though " he was not of any Noble Stem nor Descent of Blood, nor for his Followers, Friends and Ad- " herents much to be taken Notice of or feared, yet considering him, as his Legate-ship, Plura- " lity of Benefices, many Pensions from Princes, had gilded him over; and ballancing him by " his present Treasure, he could make a weak Party strong, and add Weight to what Side soever " he inclined. He was therefore with piercing Eyes to be lookt into, and all his Actions and " Ways to be observed.

The Governour gave no great Attention to what the Prior had instructed against the Arch-Bishop, having before had some inkling of the Rancour, Grudge, and Enmity between them. And he was conscious the Arch-Bishop's Riches were above Envy; he having been ever more solicitous magnificently to spend what he had acquired, than to hoord up. Neither did he bestow so much upon any of his Country-Men, as he did upon the *French*, the Friends and Servants of the Governour. He knew he was also so circumspect, as not to adhere to any of the Factions of the Time, in a Neutrality indifferently and friendly Entertaining all his Compatriots.

Nor was he much moved at his Information concerning the Earl of *Angus*, finding him a Man peaceable, courteous to all and affable; and though of aspiring Thoughts, carried often away with his private Delights and Courtly Pleasures.

But what the Prior informed against the Lord Chamberlain he deeply ingraved in his Memory, and ever after his Countenance bewrayed certain Flaws of ill concealed Discontent. Neither did he thereafter shew him wonted Favours; which the Chamberlain observing, and guessing



guessing at the Change of the Governour's Mind towards him by more than ordinary Evidences and Signs. He having been the only Man who wrought his Advancement and coming to Scotland, his Deserts now being either forgot or ungratefully remembred, full of Grief and Disdain, he retired from the Court to his own Castles; where, when he had rested a While, half astonished to see his Hopes so frustrated, he taketh new Resolutions and Determinations to play the Governour double or quit. Hereafter he leaveth no Means untried to become entire with the Queen and her Husband, and by Observance and frequent Meeting with them, he wrought himself not only to be imbraced as their Friend, but as their Counsellor, and one in whom they had greatest Confidence. He many Times with them deplored the publick Calamity, when his own Particular only stung him, accusing himself of his too much Forwardness in calling Home a Man born an Exile, whose Father died banish'd for his Ambition, and had essayed to take the Crown from his eldest Brother. "Since this Man was the nearest of Blood to succeed, who could not perceive his last Work would be the making away the innocent Child, his Pupil, to ascend the Royal Throne himself; in the Height of Malice accomplishing what his Father, out of a Desire to rule, did project? By his tender Years the King could not understand nor prevent his Danger, his Mother might and should anticipate it, that new Necessities requir'd new Remedies; only one postern Gate remained yet open, which was, that the Queen would transport her Son to *England*, and trust herself, and what she held dearest, to the Faith and Protection of her Brother.

When this Plot was whisper'd to the Governour, who wanted not his own Emissaries among the Queen's Attendants, it was no sooner reveal'd than believ'd, and no sooner believ'd, when (being a forward and vehement Man, and who used Celerity in all his Actions) with as many Men as Haste could suffer him to gather, forthwith he marched at Midnight from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling*; there unawares he surpris'd the Castle, and in it the Queen with her Two Sons. A Council being assembled, the King with his Brother *Alexander* are sequestred from their Mother, and trusted to the Custody of Four Lords, who by Turns interchangeably should attend the Two Princes, and have a Care of their Education. That no Violence should be offered them, certain Gentlemen of the *French* and *Scots* are appointed still to wait on and guard them. From this Suspicion, the Seeds of Enmity began to be sown between the Queen and the Governour, which neither Time nor Wisdom thereafter could take away and root out.

Amidst this Storm of Court, the Lord Chamberlain being brought to a new Traverse of his Thoughts, with his Brother Mr. *William Hume* fly towards *England*; the Queen with her Husband and Sir *George Douglas*, his Brother, with an unexpected Suddenness haste to *Tantallon*, and from thence to *Berwick*, from which they had a Convoy to the Nunnery of *Coldstream*: Here they attended Advertisement from the King of *England* what Course to follow, and know his Pleasure. He recommended them to the Protection and Care of the Lord *Dacres*, and assigned the Castle of *Harbottle* in *Northumberland* for his Sister's Residence, during her Abode in these Northern Parts, and the Troubles of *Scotland*.

The Governour, not a little perplexed at the Flight and Escape of those Conspirators, sendeth Ambassadors to the Court of *England* to clear himself to the King, of what might be surmised against him concerning these new Strangers come to his Country. "He had done nothing which should have offended the Queen, made her afraid, or to entertain or harbour a finistrous Thought of his Proceedings. Neither did he intend any Thing against these who had followed and accompanied her, which should have moved them to leave their Country; unto which if they pleased to return, they should be welcome, enjoy their wonted Freedom, and keep peaceably what they had possessed. If they were conscious to themselves of any Misdemeanor, he would not be too precise in the Search of it. He also trafficked by the Friends of those who favoured the *Dowglasses* and *Humes* to perswade them to a Return, giving them fair Promises of obtaining what they should demand: Till at last he moved them to bow and yield to his Desires. The fugitive Gentlemen return'd; but the Queen being with Child, and near the Time of her Delivery, was necessitated to stay still, till at *Harbottle* Castle she brought forth her Daughter *Margaret*, afterward Grand-mother to *James* King of Great *Britain*. So soon as she was able to endure Travel, and be transported, King *Henry*, with an honourable Retinue, brought her to his Court, where she was by him and her Sister *Mary* (late Queen of *France*) welcomed. In *May* she made her Progress through *London* to *Baynard's* Castle, and from thence to *Greenwich*: Where, in Honour of his Sister's coming, King *Henry* with no less Valour than Magnificence, kept Two solemn Days of Tilting and Barriers.

The Contrivers of the Exploit of Transporting the King to *England* being within the Country, and, as it were, secure, the Governour, whose Head was filled with Suspicions, not thinking himself bound by Promises, will have them give a Reckoning of their Enterprize and Flight into *England*. Against some he hath clear Proofs, fair and manifest Evidences; against other bare Surmises and naked Suspicions, for they had not left the Country, nor had been Partakers of the Queen's Fortunes. Here with an unexpected Suddenness, Mr. *Garvin Douglas* Uncle to the Earl of *Angus*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and Mr. *Patrick Panther* Secretary to the late King, were



committed; Mr. *Gavin* in the Castle of St. *Andrew's*, and Mr. *Patrick* in *Garvet* Castle. The Lord *Drummond*, Grand-Father to the Earl of *Angus*, having beaten a Lyon Herald, who too imperiously and unmannerly had given him a Charge to answer to such Things as should be objected against him, was imprisoned in the Castle of *Blackness*. *Alexander*, Lord *Hume*, being charged to answer for his Actions and Proceedings, and not appearing, was denounced Rebel, his Moveables seized on and brought to the Exchequer. Stir'd up and irritated by this Outrage, he maketh Roads upon the Neighbouring Bounds, plundereth *Dumbar*, which was the Governour's chief Resort; and to revenge his Wrongs, setteth on Work the Rank-Riders and Robbers on the Borders. To repress and bridle this Ravaging, the Governour, in Person, with a Thousand hardy Souldiers, marcheth to the Borders, and directeth some Companies to find out the Lord *Hume*: But he, either dismay'd at the Worth and Fortune of the Governour, or broken and bowing under the Burden of his own Miseries, or overcome with the Requests of his Friends, cometh to the Governour, and submitted his Life and Estate to his Faith and Clemency. Being brought to *Edinburgh*, he is trusted to the Custody of *James* Earl of *Arran*, the Husband of his Sister, with Threatnings under Pain of high Treason, that he should not part with him, nor suffer him to escape. The Lord *Hume* had not long stay'd in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, when with Glosses of Probabilities of Changes casual, and such as might fall out, he moved the Earl of *Arran* to be of his Mind, and brought him to conspire against the Governour, and hazard to put himself in his Place of State. "He himself was the only Man who had brought in the Governour, and "he knew well how to put him out, if the Earl would be of the Party, and by his Negligence "not reject a Supreme Honour thrown in his Arms. He is begun already not to be lov'd, if he "was not already hated by the Subjects for his imperious Proceedings. If the King of *England* "could find but some few Noblemen to make Head against him, he would constrain him to "leave the Country. The Earl of *Arran* was nearest Heir to the King; it was more Reason he "should be Second in the Kingdom than *John*, who tho' descended of a Brother, yet was but "descended of a banish'd Man, and a Stranger to the *Scots* Nation, with whom they had not so "much as Intercourse and Familiarity of Language. After many such like Inducements, the Prisoner took away his Keepers with him to the South Parts of the Country; and both by Letters to their Familiars, Kindred, and Acquaintance, and private Meetings with other Noblemen, strove to make strong and increase their Faction.

In the Beginning of the Spring *John* Stuart Earl of *Lennox*, the Sister's Son of the Earl of *Arran*, lifted himself in the Party of the conspiring Lords, and with a Number of his Friends and Followers invested the Castle of *Glasgow*; which if they could have kept, had been a great Advancement to their Intentions. But the Governour gathering an Army of as many as Haste would suffer him to assemble, the Defenders not being strong enough to resist him, recovered the Castle with small Loss of his Men. After which, in Indignation he marched to throw down the Castle of *Hamilton*; here victorious Anger was conquer'd by Pity and Compassion: For the old Countess of *Arran* being at that Time there resident (who was Daughter to King *James* II, Sister to King *James* III, Mother to the Earl of *Arran*, Grand-Mother to the Earl of *Lennox*, Aunt to the Governour) a Lady venerable for Years and Virtues, with Tears of Affection and Sorrow, falling down at the Governour's Feet, and received by him with great Commiseration in a merciful Manner, not only preserv'd the Castle, but by the Means of the Arch-Bishop *Andrew* *Forman*, entered into a Treaty for Peace to her Son, and the Earl of *Lennox*. And, in *November* following, the Two Earls coming to *Edinburgh*, by the Means of this Arch-Bishop, were reconciled to the Governour and all former Offences pardoned. About this Time (his Mother being far from him to discharge the last Duties of Affection towards him) *Alexander* Duke of *Rothsay* Brother to the King, a Child to Admiration Beautiful and Delightful, died at *Stirling*, and was buryed in the Abbay-Church of *Cambuskenneth*.

The Term of Peace between the Two Kingdoms being almost expir'd, and both having a Desire to continue it, the *English* sent their Commissioners to *Coldingham*, to whom the Duke, then residing at *Dumbar*, sent *Monsieur du Plains* Ambassador for the *French* King, Sir *William* *Scot* of *Balwery*, and *Gavin* *Dumbar* Arch-Dean of St. *Andrew's*. These, after some Altercation concerning the *Scottish* Fugitives, conclude a Peace between the Nations from the Midst of *January* till the Feast of *Whitsuntide* thereafter. The *English* comprehended in the Articles the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Hume*, and the rest of the Queen's strayed Faction, with all their Kinsmen, Clients and Followers. The Lord *Hume* was received again into the Governour's Favour, with Condition, that if he after break his Promises and Oaths, his old Faults should be remembered and joind to his new. Mr. *Gavin* *Dowglas* and Mr. *Patrick* *Panther* were set at Liberty, the Lord *Drummond*, who had been forfeited, was again restored, the Earl of *Angus* with these who had followed him, with many Ceremonies, and great Shew of Friendship, was welcomed again to the Court.

The Disorders of the Kingdom called a Parliament, in which many Acts were made to restrain and keep under bold and wicked Men, and preserve the Peace of the Kingdom. In this Parliament it was Ordained, the King's Brother *Alexander* being deceased, that the Governour should be reputed Second Person of the Realm, and next Heir to the Crown. Notwithstanding



ding the Claim made by *Alexander Stewart* the elder Brother of the Governour, who was begotten on a Daughter of the Earl of *Orkney*, to whom the Duke of *Albany* their Father had been lawfully joined in Marriage before his coming to *France*; and thus before the marrying of the Earl of *Bulloigne's* Daughter, the Mother of *John* the Governour: Upon which Ground, *Alexander* had great Reason to make his Claim and Protestation as Heir to his Father. Notwithstanding his Challenge and Bravado, *Alexander*, being more fit for a Cowl than a Crown, in open Parliament gave over all Title he had to the Crown in his Brother's Favour. Whereupon to deprive him ever hereafter of lawful Succession, they turned him Priest, being made Bishop of *Murray*, and Abbot of *Scone*.

A Truce being sincerely kept with *England*, Tumults within the Country appeased, particular deadly Fews and Jarrs of private Persons either curbed or smothered up, the Governour giveth himself some Weeks to his Courtly Recreations at *Falkland*. With what Pastime soever he be delighted, or beguile the Hours all the Day long, in the Night he is often haunted by his old Familiar the Prior of *Sr. Andrew's*, whom Ambition, Spite, and Malice never suffered to take any Rest.

This Man put in the Governour's Head, and made him believe, " That his Endeavours and Pains heretofore would prove but vain in settling the Government, and that the Peace of the Kingdom should never be lasting, firm and permanent, if so dangerous a Subject as the Lord Chamberlain remained alive: Whom neither Rewards could soften, nor Honours and Preference oblige and make constant. How many Times had he been pardoned? How often, and without a Cause, had he returned again to his former Conspiracies? Should the Governour of his own Free-will, or of Necessity, be moved to return to *France*, what would not the Boldness of this Man attempt in his Absence, which his Authority and Presence could never curb and keep within Compass? The Life of this Man would be the Death and total Ruin of the Peace, of the Concord and Harmony of the State, bring forth nothing but dangerous and wicked Effects; the Violence of Ambition having pulled him from his own Judgment. Should he be challenged, and put to a Trial of his Peers, he could not shun the Blow of Justice, the Cry of his Oppression and Wrongs having reached Heaven? A Member so often in vain cured and still gangren'd should be cut off.

The Governour, whose Brains the Prior had now embued with Jealousies, thought it no great Matter, upon the Informations he had received, to put the Chamberlain to a Trial; for if he proved not guilty, it would be but to leave him in that State and Case he was found in; and Calumnies tho' they do not burn, yet blacken. Being come to *Edinburgh*, he appointed a Convention of the Nobility, all which Time he earnestly trafficked with the Friends of the Lord Chamberlain that he should not be absent, the Matters to be determined in Council concerning him nearly, and he having Need of his Advice and Counsel.

The Court and City being full of Whisperings, and Expectation of some sudden Change, many dissuaded the Chamberlain from appearing; or if he appeared, that he would leave his Brother Master *William* (a Man equal in Judgement and Courage to himself) behind. He trained into false Hopes, by the Blandishments of the Governour towards his Friends, and inveigled by Presumption, with his Brother, and *Sir Andrew*, called by the Country Lord *Dand Car* of *Farnebast*, cometh to Court, where they were with many Ceremonies welcomed by the Governour, with more than ordinary Favours entertained, and shortly after all Three imprisoned, produced in Judgment to answer to such Things as should be objected against them according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and submitted to the Sentence of a Jury. No new Crime was laid to their Charge; *James* Earl of *Murray*, the natural Son of the late King, accused the Chamberlain of the Death of his Father: Who by many Witnesses was proved alive, and seen to have come from the Battle of *Flowden*. This by pregnant Evidences not being proved, he was indicted of divers other Points of Treason: And his private Faults are found out and laid against him: They renew the Memory of the late Stirs of State, and these Disorders, of which he was either the Author, or accessory to them. He had favoured and maintained the Factions, Thefts and Robberies of wicked Malefactors on the Borders: He had not honourably nor honestly carried himself at the Battel of *Flowden*, performing neither the Duty of a Souldier nor Commander. He had suffered the *English* to repair, and of new fortify the Castle of *Norham*, which without either Trouble to himself, or Danger to his Friends, he might have hindered. Of every of which Points and Particularities he not clearly justifying himself, the Judges, prepared and directed by the Governour (whom they record to have given Information of a hainous Crime committed by the Chamberlain and his Brother, for the Odiousness of it not to be revealed to the People) pronounce him and his Brother guilty, and condemn them to have their Heads cut off. The Day following the Sentence was put in Execution, and their Heads fixt on the most eminent Part of the Town of *Edinburgh*. *Dand Car* of *Farnebast*, either by the Jury, being declared not guilty (as some have recorded) or by the corrupting of his Keepers (as others) or by the Permission of the Governour, escap'd this Danger; which brought the People to believe the Chamberlain was by his Means entrapped, to sink whom he put himself in Hazard of drowning.



This Calamity of the Family of the *Humes*, being so ancient, potent and courageous, bred Terror and Astonishment in many of the other Noblemen of the Kingdom, and estranged their Hearts from the Governour; his Ears began to be after attentive to every Rumour, and his Eyes pry'd into each Accident: At last, as if he were wearied with Wrestling with the many Disorders, and cumbersome Factions of the Country, he sought how by some fair Way he might for a while return to *France*. Ambassadors being sent from King *Francis* to *Scotland* to renew the Ancient League between the Two Nations, when the Nobles assembled to make Choice of the Man, on whom they should transfer the Honour of the Accomplishment of so solemn an Action, and pass to *France*, the Governour carried the Matter so, by Means of the *French*, that it was conferred on himself, but with this Condition (to entertain them with Hopes of his Return) that he should not stay above Six Months out of the Country. Having obtained this privileged Absence of them, his next Care was to preserve the State from any Alterations till his Return, and to find the Government as he had left it. Hereupon, to preserve the Person of the King, he is conveyed from *Stirling* to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and trusted to the Custody of the Earl *Marishal*, the Lords *Rut' en* and *Borthwick*, Two of which should always reside with him, and accompany and assist the Lord *Erskin* his constant and unremoveable Guardian. For the Government of the State he leaveth Seven Deputies in his Place; The Earls of *Arran*, *Angus*, *Huntley*, *Argile*, the Arch-Bishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Glasgow*; to these is joined Sir *Anthony Darcey le Sieur de la Beauté*, whom he had made Captain of *Dumbar*, and promoted to be, in the Lord *Hume's* Place, Warden of the East Marches, keeping the Days of Truce and Justice-Courts. This was the Man to whom the intire Conduct of all the Governour's Affairs was intrusted, and who should give him Advertisement of what did pass in *Scotland*, during his Abode in *France*. That no Discord should arise amongst Men equal in Places and Authority (the ordinary Occasion of Division) severall Shires which they should govern to every one of them are allotted. To Sir *Anthony Darcey* was destined the Government of the *Merse* and *Lothian*; to the other their Shires were appointed as the Convenience of their Dwelling-Places, Friends and Kindred did afford them. Under Pretexes and fair Colours of Honour, and as to pass the Time, and be trained in *French* Civility, also for the greater Magnificence, the Governour took in his Company the Earl of *Lennox*, the Lord *Gordon*, Masters of *Glencairn* and *Arran*, and other young Lords; who in Effect were so many Hostages, that no Stir, by their Parents, Kindred, or Friends, should be raised during his Absence. He likewise under dark Shadows and far sought Pretences committed to such Castles as were Garrison'd with *French* Souldiers, as *Dumbarton*, *Dumbar*, *Garvet*, certain Barons of the South and West Countries, who wanted nothing but Liberty, nor for any Thing they had done, but what they might do, the Governour being out of the Kingdom. Matters brought to such a Pass as his best Politicians could devise, accompanied with Mr. *Gavin Douglas* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and Mr. *Patrick Panther*, Secretary to the late King, Men whom he feared to leave behind him, and entertained (though he knew they loved him not) as his Bosom Friends, in June at *Dumbarton* he took Shipping.

Queen *Margaret*, after she had remained a Year in *England*, understanding by Letters that the Governour had taken the Seas, and was on his Way towards *France*, honourably dismissed by her Brother, came to *Scotland*. At *Berwick* she was received by her Husband the Earl of *Angus*; but he was not accepted with the Favours he was wont; for that Plague of too much Love (Jealousy) had infected her, having gotten some Inkling that he delighted in the Pleasures of a free Bed, and, during the Time of her Abode in *England*, had entertained a Mistress in *Douglas-dale*, an Injury beyond Degree of Reconcilement, after which she began to disdain him, and seek how she might be divorced from him. Though, whilst the King was kept in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, all Access unto him was refused her, when he was transported to the Castle of *Craigmillar*, out of a Suspicion and Rumour that the Plague had infected *Edinburgh*, by the Courtesy of the Lord *Erskin*, she had Liberty to visit him; but her frequent haunting him out of too much Motherly Kindness, breeding a Suspicion in his Guardians, that, as had once before been practised by a Queen in *Scotland*, She had an Intention to have stoln him away, and send him to his Uncle, restrained her longer Access unto him, and procured his Return back again to the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

Sir *Anthony Darcey* having, by his Vigilance, Pains, and Courage, given many Proofs of of his Worth, in Defence of the Borders, and Administration of Justice in those Shires he governed; the other Governours, often disagreeing amongst themselves, either out of Love of Rest, and to be vacant from Business, or out of Malice to procure him greater Hatred, declare him absolute Deputy: And they gave their Promises to second him in way of Justice. And here he found the Difference between Extrems and Mediocrities. Many disdained a Stranger should be in that Place, so many brave Men of their Nation being neglected. A Quarrel at that Time, either true and real, or (as others have recorded) altogether forged and contrived to draw the Deputy into a Danger, arising between the Curators of the Laird of *Langron*, and one of his Uncles, who by the Power and Means of Sir *David Hume* of *Wadderburn*, whose Sister



Sister was his Wife, had thrust out and ejected the young Heir and them of their own Castle of *Langton*, and kept it by Force. The Deputy, accompanied with certain Lords of the Borders and some *French* Men his own Domesticks, came to the Town of *Duns*, to hold a Justice-Court concerning this Riot. The *Humes*, who thought nothing juster than Revenge, nor nobler than the Effects of Anger, having sworn a Requital of their Chief's Wrong, and to pay the Governour Home, when Occasion should be offered, by the Counsel and Forwardness of Sir *David Hume*, lay an Ambush, and ly in wait for the Deputy. The Plot not failing, they invade him at such a Disadvantage, that some of his Servants being killed, he was constrained to seek an Escape by the Swiftness of his Horse; who, in the Chase either falling or sinking in a Marsh, left his Master to the Cruelty of his Pursuers, who struck off his Head; and, to feed their Eyes with the Spectacle of their Rage, set it, to the Disgrace of the *French*, on the Battlements of the Castle of *Hume*. This End had Sir *Anthony Darcey*, who deserved so well both of *France* and *Scotland*, having been Courteous, Valiant and Noble in all his Actions, and a great Administrator of Justice, who spared no Travel, and freely adventured upon any Dangers to suppress Malefactors, and defend the Weak and Innocent.

The Governours, that greater Mischief should not follow the Boldness of these Men, made Choice of the Earl of *Arran* to resist their Outrage, and declare him Warden of the Marches and Supream. Which Election displeased the Earl of *Angus*. The Earl of *Arran* armed with Power, neglecting *Angus* his Interest, immediately committed Sir *George Douglas* his Brother to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and *Mark Ker* of *Cesford* in *Garvet* Castle, out of a Suspicion, that they were accessory to the Slaughter of Sir *Anthony Darcey*. In a Parliament, shortly following, many of the *Humes* and *Cockburns*, Fugitives for this Slaughter, and for that they had invited the *English* to their Aid, and Spoil of the Country, are declared Rebels. The Parliament being dissolved, the Earl of *Arran* with a sufficient Number of Souldiers, and some great Ordinance, besieged the Castles of *Hume* and *Langton*, and had them rendred to his Mercy.

When the Accident of Sir *Anthony Darcey* was noised at the Court of *France*, King *Francis* is recorded to have said, "That he never looked for better at the Hands of the *Scots*, and that the Duke of *Albany* should have deputed Men of their own Nation to have governed them, and not a Stranger, being a People delighting in Misgovernment, ever well pleased at the Falls and tragical Ends of their Rulers, and joying to see any hard Hap happen to them they deem happy."

The Bishop of *Dunkeld*, who had accompanied the Governour to *France*, used such Diligence at that Court, that he was imployed to be the First Messenger to the Country of the great Promises and many Ceremonies of the *French*, at the Confirmation of the League, with their Protestations for the preserving and maintaining the Liberties of the Kingdom of *Scotland* against all who would essay to impair them. Not long after arrived the Earl of *Lennox* and an Herauld with Letters from King *Francis* and the Governour, amplifying and putting a larger Gloss on the same. But when, by other Letters, the Queen and Nobles had received certain Intelligence that King *Francis* and the King of *England* had composed their Quarrels, entred in a new Band of Amity, a defensive League being passed between them, *Tournay* rendred to the *French*, Promises upon either Side solemnly made for a Match to be between the Daulphin of *France*, eldest Son to King *Francis*, and the eldest Daughter of *Henry* King of *England*, when Age should enable them for Marriage; and that in the large Treary of Peace, not one Word was set down for the Quietness and Help of those who for the Quarrel of *France* had lost their King, and endangered their whole Kingdom; no Care being taken of their Welfare and Prosperity; they stormed not a little, and thought their Lives and Travels ill imployed. Then, with as great Haste as such a Matter required, they dispatched Letters back again to the Governour blotted with Complaints and Expostulations. The Year following, to excuse his Oversight, the *French* King sent a Reason, why he had not made Mention of the *Scottish* Nation in his League with *England*, which was that, He had studied to give Satisfaction and Contentment to some of the *Scottish* Nobility (obliquely touching the Duke of *Albany*) whose Minds he knew to be altogether averse from any Peace or Truce with the *English* Nation; whose undaunted Spirits, and great Courage were only bent to revenge the Deaths of their King, Kinsmen and Compatriots. This Evasion not giving Satisfaction to the best advised of the Council, the *French* King interposed his Endeavours with King *Henry* to have a Cessation of Arms, for as short a Time as he could devise. Whereupon *Clarencieux* and one *la Fiot*, coming to *Scotland*, the one from the King of *England*, the other from the *French* King, a Truce was concluded between the Two Kingdoms for One Year and a whole Day. The Reason of this Truce was thought mostly to be, for that the Kings of *England* and *France*, the next Summer, all Impediments being remov'd, were to have an Interview, and with all Princely Courtesies receive and entertain each other.

The Kingdom in sundry Quarters began to be sensible of the Absence of the Governour, Factions increasing, and deadly Fewds daily arising, the Commons suffering continual Outrages, and the Nobility and Gentry deciding their Rights and Quarrels by their Swords, the Earl of *Rorber* and the Lord *Lindsay* contending which should be Sheriff of *Fyfe*, with tumultuary



ary Arms on the high Street of *Edinburgh* invade each other, and hardly by the Deputies were restrain'd, till the one was committed to the Castle of *Dumbar*, and the other to the Castle of *Dumbarton*. *Robert Blackader* Prior of *Coldingham*, with Six of his Domestick Servants, is killed by the Laird of *Wedderburn*. The King, out of a Suspicion, that the Plague was in *Edinburgh*, being transported to the Castle of *Dalkieth* by Convoy of the Earl of *Arran*, who was then Provost of the Town: It being the Season when the Townsmen make Election of their Magistrates for the Year following; when the Earl was returned, and sought to enter the Town, he found the Gates shut upon him by the Citizens, who alleged he came to invade their Liberties in the free Choice of their Magistrates, having an Intention to continue himself in his Place, and make Choice of the other according to his own Pleasure. The Tumult continueth the most Part of the Night, and the next Morning early the People dividing into Factions, and skirmishing in the Streets, a Deacon of the Crafts is killed by the Faction of the *Hamiltons*, which alienated the Minds of the Townsmen altogether from the Earl of *Arran*, and made them incline to the Earl of *Angus*, some of whose Friends and Followers had rescued some of the Citizens, and taken Part with others; which made many after conceive this Discord was plotted by some Noblemen, Enemies to the Earl of *Arran*, amongst which the Earl of *Angus* was the Chief.

After this Tumult, the Earls of *Angus* and *Arran* fought always to cross each other in their Proceedings; the one maintaining the Enemies of the other: Who had a Quarrel against the Earl of *Arran*, the Earl of *Angus* befriended him, as the Earl of *Arran* supported and sided with those who had any Discontent against the Earl of *Angus*. A Suit falling between the Earl of *Angus* and *Dand Carr* Laird of *Farnebast* about the Ballywick of *Jedburgh-Forrest*; the Lands appertained to the Earl, the Title and Power to sit Judge belonged to the Lairds of *Farnebast*. *Sir James Hamilton* the natural Son of the Earl of *Arran* assisted the Laird of *Farnebast*; and besides those who out of good Will, Friendship, Kindred, and Vassalage, did follow him, he hired Forty Souldiers such as were found upon the Borders, Men living upon Spoil and Rapine to be of his Party. The Laird of *Cesford* (then Warden of the Marches) who with his Counsel and Force sided with the Earl of *Angus*, at the Rumour of the Approach of *Sir James* to *Jedburgh*, encountereth him, and his Forry Hirelings abandoning him in his greatest Danger; *Cesford* killing some of his Followers, brought him to make Use of his Spurs towards the Castle of *Hume*, where after a long Chase he got Sanctuary. The Day following the Laird of *Farnebast* held a Court in the Town of *Jedburgh*, as Bailly to the Earl of *Angus*, and the Earl himself kept his Court Three Miles distant in *Jedburgh-Forrest*. In the Month of *May* after, certain Noblemen assembled at *Edinburgh* to accomodate all Quarrels, and make an Atonement between the *Dowglasses* and *Hamiltons*. Many Lords of the West here meet, attending the Earl of *Arran*, the Earls of *Lennox*, *Eglinton*, *Cassils*, the Lords *Ross*, *Semple*, the Bishop of *Galloway*, Abbot of *Pasley*, &c. The Provost of the Town of *Edinburgh* *Archbald Dowglas* of *Kilspindie*, Uncle or Cousin-German to the Earl of *Angus*, yielded up his place to *Robert Logan* Laird of *Restalrig*. The Lords of the West, by the Advice of *James Beaton* Chancellor (in whose House they often assembled) laid a Plot to surprize the Earl of *Angus*, then attended but by some few of his Friends, and as it were very solitary. They thought him too great and insolent a Subject, to whose Power never one of theirs alone was equal in all Points, and they had many Things to challenge him upon, when the Governour should return. The Earl of *Angus*, forewarned of their Intention, employed the Bishop of *Dunkeld* his Uncle to offer them what honourable Satisfaction they could require. All that he proposed being rejected by implacable Men, and finding the only Way to be freed of Violence, to be Violent, and that Danger could not be avoided but by a greater Danger, with a Hundred hardy, resolute Men, armed with long Spears and Pikes, which the Citizens, as he traversed the Streets, out of Windows furnished him, he invested a Part of the Town, and barricado'd some Lanes with Carts and other Impediments which the Time did afford. The adverse Party trusting to their Number, and the Supply of the Citizens (who calling to Mind the Slaughter of their Deacon, shew them small Favour) disdaining the Earl should thus muster on the Streets, in great Fury invade him. Whilst the Bickering continued, and the Town is in a Tumult, *William Dowglas*, Brother to the Earl of *Angus*, *Sir David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, *George Hume* Brother to the late Lord, with many others by Blood and Friendship tyed together, enter by Violence the East Gate of the Town (the Citizens making small Resistance) force their Passage through the Throngs, seek the Earl's Enemies, find them, and scour the Streets of them. The Master of *Montgomery* eldest Son to the Earl of *Eglinton*, *Sir Patrick Hamilton*, Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, with almost Fourscore more are left dead upon the Place. The Earl himself findeth an Escape and Place of Retreat through a Marish upon the North Side of the Town; the Chancellor and his Retinue took Sanctuary in the *Dominican* Friars. The Tumult by the Slaughter of some, and Flight of others, being appeased, the Earl of *Angus*, now freed of Danger, licensed all who pleased, without further Pursuit, peaceably to leave the Town of *Edinburgh*, and return to their own Houses. Some Days after the *Humes* well banded and backed with  
many



many Nobles and Gentlemen of their Linage, by the Earl of *Angus's* Consent, took the Lord *Hume's* and his Brother's Heads from the Place where they had been fixt, and with the funeral Rites of those Times interr'd them in the *Black-Friars*.

The Earl of *Angus* having gain'd the People's Hearts by his Magnificence, Wisdom, Courage and Liberality, his Faction began to bear greatest Sway in the Kingdom. For the Continuance of which, the King of *England* dealt most earnestly with the *French* King to keep the Duke of *Albany* still in *France* with him. But the *French* had contrary Designs. And when the Duke understood the great Discords of the Nobility of *Scotland*, Persons of Faction being advanced to Places, dangerous Immunities being granted to the Commons, *France* and *England* beginning to be tyred of their Peace, and preparing for a new War: To curb the *Scottish* Factions, and keep the Nation in Quietness within it self, by giving the Subjects other Work abroad, whilst common Danger should break off particular Discords, notwithstanding the *English* Ships, which lay in wait to take him, after he had been about Five Years in *France*, in November he arrived, on the West Coasts of *Scotland*, at a Place called *Garloch*. The Governour coming to *Edinburgh*, set himself to amend the Evillities committed in his Absence; the Magistrates of the Town are deposed, because in the late Uproar they had been evil Seconds to the Lords of the West, when they went to surprize the Earl of *Angus*. A Parliament is called, to which many Noblemen and Gentlemen are cited to make Appearance in February to be tried, and to answer for Offences committed by them in the Governour's Absence. The appointed Time being come, these who appeared not, were indicted, and fled into *England*. Amongst which, and the chief, were the *Humes* and *Cockburns*, Men Authors of and accessory to the Death of Sir *Anthony Darcey*. The Tide now turning, and Men's Affections changed, the Earl of *Angus*, with his Brother Sir *George Dowglas*, by the Intercession of the Queen, are constrained to seek a Pardon: Which was obtained for them, but with the Condition that they should leave the Country, and stay in *France* one whole Year, which they obeyed. Others have recorded, that they were surprized in the Night, and in *French* Ships conveyed privately away. Mr. *Gavin Dowglas* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, in the Absence of his Nephew, finding the Governour violent in the Chace of the Faction of the *Dowglases*, fled privately to the Court of *England*, where he gave Informations to King *Henry* against him. He alone had taken to him the Custody of the young King, the Sequel whereof he much feared; he was an irreconcilable Enemy to the whole Family of the *Dowglases*. The principal Cause of his coming to *Scotland*, was to engage the Nation in a War against *England*; that the *English* should not assist the Emperor against the *French* King, and make his Nation Slaves to *France*.

This Bishop shortly after died at *London*, and was buried in the *Savoy* Church: Having been a Man noble, valiant, learned, and an excellent Poet, as his Works yet extant testify.

The King of *England*, upon such Informations, sent *Clarencieux* (King of Arms) to *Scotland*, to require the Duke to avoid the Country, according to the Articles agreed upon between the *French* King and him in their last Truce.

It belonged (said *Clarencieux*) to his Master to tender the Life, Welfare, Honour, and Fortunes of his Nephew, of none of which he could be assured, so long as the Duke ruled and stayed in *Scotland*. It was against all Reason, and unbeseeming, that the Man should be sole Guardian to a King, who was the next Heir to the Crown: How easily might he be tempted by Opportunity to commit the like unnatural Cruelty, which some have done in the like Case both in *England* and other Parts of Europe? If he loved his Nation and Prince (as he gave out) he required him to leave the Country, which if he yield not unto, but obstinately continued in a Resolution to stay, he denounced from his Master present War. He farther complained, That the Earl of *Angus*, who was King *Henry's* Brother-in-Law, was by him banish'd and detained in *France*; that during the Banishment of the Earl, which had been near a whole Year, the Duke had importuned his Sister the Queen with dishonest Love.

The Governour answered *Clarencieux*, That what the Kings of *France* and *England* agreed upon in their Treaties of Peace was to him uncertain, but of this he was most certain, That neither the King of *England* nor *France* had Power to banish him (a Foreigner over whom their Authority did not reach) his native Country; like over like having no Jurisdiction.

As concerning the King of *Scotland*, who was yet young in Years, he revered him as his Sovereign Lord, and would keep and defend both him and his Kingdom according to his Conscience, Honour and bounden Duty; that there were ever more Men in the World who desired to be Kings, than there were Kingdoms to be bestowed upon them, of which Number he was none, having ever preferred a mean Estate justly enjoyed, before a Kingdom ill acquired. For the Earl of *Angus*, he had used all Courtesies towards him, notwithstanding his evil Demerits, not for his own Sake (he did confess) but for the Queen's Sake, whom he honoured and respected as the Mother of his Prince, and towards whom he should alwayes continue his Observance. That the King of *England* needed not misdoubt, he would attempt any thing should derogate from the Honour of his Sister; that Complements of meer Courtesy in *France*, might be surmised sometimes by *English* Ladies to be Solicitations and Suits of Love.

For the War, with which, in Case of his Stay, he threatned his Nation, he would use his best Endeavours to set his Compatriots in a Posture of Defence.



When this Answer was reported to King *Henry*, he gathered a great Army to invade *Scotland*, and essay, if, by their own Dangers, the *Scots* People could be moved to abandon and disclaim the Duke's Authority. Seven great Ships came to *Inch-Keith*, and spoiled all the adjacent Coasts: All the *Scots* and *French*, which did then inhabit *London*, and other Places of *England*, were put to their Fines, and commanded to go off the Country.

In Compensation and for equal Amends, the *French* King seized all *English* Men's Goods in *Bordeaux*, imprisoned their Persons, and retained the Money to be paid for the Restitution of *Tournay*. The Earl of *Sbrensbury* making Incursions on the Borders, burnt the one Half of *Kells*, and plundered the other.

At this Time the Emperor *Charles V.* came to *England*, and stirred up King *Henry* to take Arms against the *French* King; and the *French* had sent Ambassadors to *Scotland*, intreating and conjuring the *Scots* by their Old and New League to arise in Arms and invade *England*. The Governour assembled the Three Estates at *Edinburgh*, which together condescended to the raising of an Army to resist the Incursions of the *English* and defend the Kingdom. To encourage every Man for fighting, the Wards of those which should fall in this Expedition, were freely remitted and discharged by Act of Parliament, and Pensions designed to the Widows and Daughters of those who died in this Service. This Empyrick Balm could the *French* apply to cure the Wounds of the *Scottish* Common-wealth.

The Earl of *Sbrensbury* advancing (as was reported) toward the West Borders, an Army was far gathered, and encamped on *Rossin-Moor*, which after, according to the Orders given, marched to *Annandale* forwards, and came to the *Erk*, a River running into the *Irish* Seas near *Carlisle*; the Governour delighted with the Seat and standing of the Place, caused dig Trenches, and, by the Advice of certain *French* Gunners, placed some Field Pieces, and small Ordnance for Defence of them, and spread there his Pavilions. The Citizens of *Carlisle*, terrified at the sudden Approach of so powerful an Army, offer many Presents for the Safety of their Town, which he rejected. The *English* Army not minding to invade the *Scots* so long as they kept themselves on their own Ground, and advanced not, the Governour endeavoured to make the *Scots* spoil the Country by Incursions, but he findeth them slack and unwilling to obey and follow him, most Part refusing to go upon *English* Ground, amongst whom *Alexander Lord Gordon* was the Chief and First Man. The Governour finding his Command neglected, and some Noblemen dissenting from what he most intended, cometh back to the Place where they made their Stand, and desires a Reason of their Stay. They told him, "They had determined to defend their own Country, not to invade *England*. That it neither consisted with the Weal of the Common-Wealth, nor as Matters went at that Time, had they sufficient Forces, to make invasive War: That the Governour did not instigate them to invade *England* for the Love he carried to *Scotland*, but for a Benefit to the *French*, by diverting the War prepared by the *English* against them. That by invading they might make themselves a Prey to their Enemies; they were Men and not Angels; it was enough for them, whilst their King was under Age, to Defend his Kingdom from the Violence of Foreigners. Put the Case they were in one Battel victorious, considering the Slaughter and Loss of their Nobles and Gentry in that Purchase, they might be overthrown in a Second Fight; and then to what would the King and Country be reduced? Their last King might serve them for a Pattern, the Revenge of whose Death should be delayed till the King himself were of Years to undertake it.

The Governour brought to an Exigent, said, "They should have proposed these Difficulties before they took Arms, and on the Place of Battel. Temerity misbecame Noblemen in any Action, but especially in Matters of War, in which a Man cannot erre twice. At the Convention of the Three Estates, when War was in Deliberation, they should have inquired for the Causes of it; he was not to bring them upon the Danger of a War without their own Consent. The *English* had made many Incursions upon their Country, burning and ravaging: They who stand only upon Defence, stand upon no Defence; a better Defence of their own Country could not be found than by invading the Country of their Enemies. They should not be dejected for that Accident at *Flowden*, since it was not the Fault of the Souldier, but the Treason of their Chamberlain, who had suffered for it. That the Glory of the Nation should raise their Courages, and inflame their Bosoms with a Desire of Revenge: The King's Honour, and their Piety towards the Ghosts of their Compatriots, crav'd no less from them. That, if they would not invade *England*, at least, for their Reputation and Fame with the World, they would pitch there a short Time their Tents, and try if the *English* would hazard to assail them. That it would be an everlasting branding their Honour, if timorously in a Suddenness they show their Backs to their Enemies, and dared them not in the Face by some Days Stay.

The Queen, though absent, had thus perswaded the Noblemen; and having understood the Governour to be turned now flexible, she dispatched a Post to him, requesting he would be pleased with a Truce for some Months, and that he would commune with the Warden of the *English* Marches, whom she should move to come to his Tent and treat with him. The Governour finding that



that he stood not well assured of some of his Army, and knowing what a cumbersome Task it was to withstand the Violence of their Desires, determined to follow their own Current, and seemed well pleased to hearken to their Opinion. Hereupon the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the West Marches, came unto the Governour's Camp the Eleventh of September (and, as some have recorded, the Queen also) where a Cessation of Arms was agreed unto for some Days, in which Time the Queen and the Governour should send Ambassadors to treat for a Peace with King *Henry*: And shortly after Ambassadors were directed to the Court of *England*, but returned without any Good done, King *Henry* demanding extraordinary and harmful Conditions to the Realm of *Scotland*.

The Year 1522. *Andrew Forman*, Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, dyed, and *James Beaton* Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow* and Chancellour of the Kingdom came in his Place of *St. Andrew's*, the Arch-Bishoprick of *Glasgow* was conferred upon *Gavin Dumbar*, whom the King after advanced to be Chancellor of the Kingdom.

The Governour resenting highly the slighting of the Ambassadors by the King of *England*, but more the Contempt and Scorn of the *Scottish* Nobility in refusing to follow him, in October by the West Seas past over to *France*, promising, that if a Peace in this mean Time were not concluded with *England*, he would the next Summer bring such War-like Brigades of *French* and *Germans*, that he should not stand much in Need of his own Country-men, who had continued so refractory and backward to his Designs. He demanded from King *Francis* Five Thousand *German* Horsemen, and Ten Thousand Foot to be transported to *Scotland*: Which with the *Scots* who would accompany him, he thought sufficient to continue a War with *England*. The *French* could not spare so many Men, having Wars both with the Emperour and the *English*, but they gave him Three Thousand Pikes, and One Thousand Launces. The Governour intending to return to *Scotland*, receiving Intelligence that the Ports towards the Coasts of *France* were watched by the *English* to intrap him in his Passage, bestowed his Ships so covertly here and there in small Companies to avoid all Suspicion of any Purpose he had to stir that Year, as that thereupon the *English* Fleet under the Conduct of Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, which had attended and waited his coming forth, until the Midst of *August*, brake up and bestowed themselves in convenient Ports against the next Spring. The Duke then watching the Opportunity, and readily gathering together his dispersed Ships, to the Number of some Fifty Sail, embarked his Men at *Brest* in *Bretaign*, the One and Twenty of September, and landed at *Kircudbright*, or the Isle of *Arran*, in the West of *Scotland*. In his Company was *Richard de la Pool* who had been banished *England*, and to his Power faithfully assisted the Governour. He arrived the same Time that *Jedburgh* was burnt by the *English*; for *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, high Admiral of *England*, the Marquess of *Dorset* and his Brother, with a competent Power entring *Scotland*, had burnt many Towns, and overthrown Castles and Piles.

At his coming, the Duke assembled the Lords at *Edinburgh*, where they agreed that an Army should forthwith be gathered, and the 28th of October was appointed for their Meeting at *Dowglasdale*. At the Day prefixt, the Army marched towards *Coldstream* upon the *Tweed*. Out of this Army the Governour having selected a Number of the hardiest Souldiers of *Scots* and *French*, and conveying some Artillery over the Water, under the Command of *Dand Car* of *Farnebast*, on the last of October they besieged the Castle of *Wark*, which was defended by *Edward Lilly* or *Lisle*. The Assailants upon the outmost Ward continuing their Battery, entred by main Force the Second Ward; but being there repulsed and beaten back, a great Tempest arising, and fearing the swelling of the River of *Tweed* might cut them off from their Army on the other Side, they turned back and repassed the Water: The Report of the Earl of *Surrey's* Forces coming to rescue the Castle, and lying at *Anwick*, had also perplexed them not a little. The Earl of *Surrey*, at his Approach, finding the Enemy retired to the other Side of the River, the Castle safe, and having no Commission to pass the *English* Marches, or to invade *Scotland*, made no further Pursuit. In the mean Time the Queen, who had ever sought to make firm Friendship with her Brother, and break the Amity of *France*, sent to him to yield to a Cessation of War, hoping in that Time to work some Agreement between the Two Nations. Whereunto the King consenting, the Governour finding the *Scottish* Lords averse to his Intentions, that he was this Time served as he had been before (they refusing still to enter upon *England*) and that striving would but the more chafe them, also condescended. Thus a Truce was promised, and faithful Peace observed till the last of November, being the Feast of *St. Andrew*: The Winter past without any Invasion of the *English* on *Scotland*, or the *Scots* on *England*.

During the Time of this Truce, many serious Consultations were amongst the Lords of *Scotland*, whether it were more fit to continue this War, or give it over. Many of them held it unreasonable, that for the only Pleasure of the *French* King, the Realm of *Scotland* should suffer any more Damage by the continuing of so needless a War: And finding that the Duke of *Albany* was always set to perform what the *French* desired, not what was expedient for the *Scottish* Nation, nor what was in their Power to accomplish; they therefore wished that their young King, now having attained some Years of Discretion, and passing the Age of a Child, might bear some Sway



in the Government of the Realm. Some argued, "That a King sooner than the Sons of Noble-men went out of the Bondage of Tutelage, and enjoy'd greater Immunities, his Age often being reckoned from the Time of his Conception. That the Administration and Charge of the Kingdom should early be given him, that he might with his Years grow in the Art of Governing; Since we find the same to be usual in the Perfection of other Arts and Sciences. Others entertained other Thoughts, "That to a Child, who could not by the Weakness of his Judgement discern Right from Wrong, the Helm of State should not be trusted, and that the Peers of the Kingdom might be challeng'd of Dotage by their Neighbour Countries, for giving to a Child the Sword of Justice, which he might thrust in their own Entrails one Day, or wound therewith the Bosom of the Common-wealth.

The Governour finding the Lords divided amongst themselves, and their Reasons averse to his Intentions, and that not only the People, but the Souldiery were weary of him, and had bent their Affections upon their young King, foolishly preferring the Ignorance and Simplicity of a Child to his Prudence, Experience, and long Practice of State, requested them to give him leave to return to *France*, and to forgive him any Error he had committed, which he protested was of Ignorance, not of Malice. Having from Men distasted with him, without any Opposition, obtained what he required, far from any outward Shew of inward Discontentment, or disquieting himself at the Ingratitude of some whom he had advanc'd to Honours, he came to *Stirling*, where, after some Days stay with the King, when he had given him such Instructions of State, as he was able to understand (for he was but then in the Thirteenth Year of his Age) with many Tokens of Love, and Demonstrations of sincere Affection, he took his Leave of him: And his Ships attending his Passage on the West, with a great Retinue of *Scots* and *French*, he held his Way towards them, and recommended himself to the Sea in the Spring Time, now the Third Time for *France*, after which he return'd not at all into *Scotland*.

He was a Prince adorned with many Virtues, Active, Courageous, Resolute, and knew how to use Men as they are.

If he had not been opposed by the Queen and Nobility, he was likely either to have lost himself and the whole Kingdom, or revenged the Death of his Cousin.

His courteous Nature went above his Ambition; he could as well lay down his Honours, as he had modestly, when they were laid upon him, received them.

Before the Rumour of the Duke of *Albany's* taking the Seas was spread abroad, the King of *England* by secret Letters had required the Earl of *Angus*, who then an Exile staid in *France*, to come to him: After the Receipt of which, with a Short-leave taking he left *France*, where he had stay'd almost Three Years, and cometh to *England*. King *Henry* had brought him to believe, That the Duke had determined to extirpate his whole Linage: To prevent which he made him Offer of Men and Ammunition to preserve his own, and by his Faction at Home, and his Assistance, to send the Duke over Seas; which, if he had longer stay'd, the Earl was esteemed powerful enough to have accomplished.

The Duke of *Albany* being in *France*, the Queen with the Government of the State, assumeth the Custody of the Person of her Son, whom she moved to leave *Stirling* and come to *Edinburgh*. The Third Day after he had made his Entry into the Town, she lodg'd with him in the *Maiden Castle*, and it being seized on, armed with Authority, she doubted not to make the Country yield her all Obedience. That the Supream Magistrate of the Town should not oppose her Designs, he is put from his Office, and the Lord *Maxwell* (a Man to her obsequious) is substituted in his Place.

To give the fairer Lustre to her Actions, a Parliament is called at *Edinburgh*, that what she did, might consist with Law.

When King *Henry* understood the Duke had left *Scotland*, to exclude and bar him all Regress, he sent one *Magnus*, a great Oratour, but greater by the Renown of his Skill in the Laws, with *Roger Ratcliff*, his Ambassadors, to try how the *Scots*, amidst such unnecessary Turmoils, would relish a Truce and Cessation of Arms: And these lay the Blame, of all the Disorders and Disorders between the Two Nations, upon the Duke. The Nobles tyred with their tedious Wars, beginning to espy a Haven of Rest, cheerfully accept of this Embassy, and agree upon a Truce for One whole Year. To confirm which they condescend that Commissioners shall be dispatched instantly, who shall treat not only for a Truce, but for a firm and lasting Peace between the Two Nations, and unite the Two Crowns in Bands of Amity, as well as they were united in Degrees of Blood.

The Earl of *Angus*, his Enemy abandoning the Kingdom, after honourable Entertainment of the King of *England*, many Promises to befriend him, and Blandishments at his departing, cometh to *Scotland*, and his Return began to change the Game of State. The Queen's and Earl of *Arran's* Faction carried all Matters of Importance: The Earls of *Lennox*, *Argyle*, and the *Humes* had been sequestred from publick Employments: The first Faction by his Presence find their Power diminished; the other by his Counterpoise and Assistance have new Hopes of

arising;



arising; both Factions disliked that *Angus* should arise to the First Place, and suspected he would not be content with the Second; they loved to have him an Equal, not Supreme.

Private Jarrs smothered and Interests delayed, Matters concerning *England* requiring a hasty and present Dispatch, *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassils*, *Robert Cockburn* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *Alexander Mill* Abbot of *Cambuskenneth*, are sent Commissioners to the Court of *England*. At *Greenwich* they are honourably and kindly received by King *Henry*, whose Countenance promised them a Refusal of no Reasonable Thing they would require. The Bishop had a Speech, the Sum of which was,

*That, Dissention and Hatred taken away between the Two Nations, a faithful Peace might be agreed unto and confirmed, their Discords turned into Union, their Rancour into Love; which to bring to pass and make durable, the only apparent and probable Means, were to bestow the Lady Mary, the King's Daughter, upon James the young King of Scotland.*

The *English* with great Joy applauded what was said: And King *Henry* appointed certain Commissioners to treat about that Purpose in private. These when they had met to advance the Union of the Kingdoms, desired these Conditions.

*First, That the Scottish Nation giving over, and fairly forsaking the League they had with France, should enter into a New League with them, upon the same Conditions and Terms which were contained in their League with France.*

*Next, That the young King of Scotland, till by Age he was able for Marriage, should be brought up at the Court of England.*

When the Ambassadors of *Scotland* had answered, *That these Conditions were above their Commission, to which they could not well answer*, and desired a Time to acquaint the Council of *Scotland* with them; it was condescended unto. Thus Two of them remaining at *London*, the Earl of *Cassils*, returned to *Scotland* to bring back an Answer.

When the Day, in which the Parliament should have been held, was come, the Queen and they who were of her Faction, as the Earls of *Arran*, *Murray*, and *Eglinton*, fearing the Earl of *Angus* might turn the wavering People's Affection, and move them to some Revolt, which might hinder their Determinations, or terrify the Commissioners by the frequent Convention of his Friends and Followers, constraining their Voices, and restraining their Freedom of Speech: Or that they had a Plot to surprize some of the contrary Faction, and by Authority of Parliament commit them in that Place, caused a Proclamation to be made, *That none of the Three Estates should sit or assemble themselves in the Town of Edinburgh, but that they should keep their Meeting in the Castle and there give their Presence.* The Earls of *Angus*, *Lennox*, *Argile*, Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, Bishops of *Aberdeen* and *Dumblane*, with their Adherents, and others, who joined with them rather out of Fear than good Will, refuse to enter the Castle, and require, *That the Parliament be kept in the accustomed Place, and that the King may in Triumph be shewn to his own People, and convoyed along the High-street.* All which being denied them; giving out, *That Justice was violated, the King kept against his Will as a Prisoner, and the Government and Custody of his Person seized on without Consent of the Three Estates;* they surround the Castle with Two Thousand Men in Arms, and stop all Furniture of Food and Victuals, which should have been afforded by the Town. In this Distress they in the Castle turn the great Ordinance against the Town, and threaten the innocent Citizens with the Overthrow of their Buildings. Some Powder and Time being spent in terrifying the People, at last, Churchmen interposing themselves, and interceding with and perswading the Parties, an Accommodation and Atonement is wrought, their Fury quenched, all Rancour suppressed, and Injuries forgotten, the King in Magnificence and Pomp is convoyed from the Castle to his Palace at *Holy-rood-house*, and the Estates assemble in the wonted Place of the Town of *Edinburgh*.

In this Parliament the Authority of the Governour is abrogated, by which Means they saved him a Labour from returning into *Scotland* again: *Eight Lords were chosen to have the Custody of the King's Person, every one his Months successively, and the whole to stand for the Government of the State; yet with this Limitation, That the King by their Counsel should not determine, nor ordain any thing in great Affairs, to which the Queen, as Princess and Dowager, gave not her free Consent and Approbation.*

The Lords were, the Arch-Bishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Glasgow*, the Bishops of *Aberdeen* and *Dunkeld*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Lennox*, and *Argile*.

Time urging Resolution, the Lords of Parliament direct the Earl of *Cassils* again to the Court of *England* to declare their Resolution concerning the Marriage of the King, and the establishing a Peace between the Kingdoms.

The News of the Overthrow of the *French* Army, and the taking of their King, at *Pavia* by the Imperialists, being come to the Court of *England*, before the Arrival of the Earl of *Cassils*,



King Henry told the Scottish Ambassadors in plain Terms, *He could not determine any Thing concerning the Marriage of his Daughter, without acquainting the Emperor her nearest Kinsman, and his Confederate, with his Proceedings, which could not be done in Haste, and so soon as they required, considering the Troubles of Italy.*

Hereupon the Ambassadors, their Hopes of this Alliance delayed, having obtained a Truce between the Two Nations for the Space of Three Years and Three Months faithfully to be kept, returned to their own Country.

The State began of new to be tossed by the Troublesome Factions of the Queen and Earl of Angus, the Original of which sprang from Matters of the Church; the Abbacy of *Holy-rood-House* falling vacant by the Promotion of *George Creighton* Abbot, to the Bishoprick of *Dunkeld*; the Earl of Angus, to whom the Custody of the King was trusted, either by Lot or Consent, moved him to confer this Abbacy upon his Brother *Mr. William*, Prior of *Coldingham*, without acquainting the Queen with the Gift, or seeking the Consent of the other Rulers: At this the Queen turned so displeased, that abandoning the King to the Pleasure of the Earl of Angus, She with her Followers retired to *Stirling*. By this inconsiderate Retreat the Earl administered all alone, leaning to the Greatness of his own Power, that some might have thought the Queen set her Game to make up his. All Favours and Punishments pass by him, all Offices and Places of Importance are distributed to his Favourites; He made *Archbald Dowglas*, his Uncle, Treasurer, *Sir George*, his Brother, Great Chamberlain; the Abbacies of *Coldingham* and *Holy-rood-House* were in his Brother's Hands; neither Temporal nor Ecclesiastical Dignity escap'd him; his Greatness instantly procureth him Envy.

The Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argile*, and *Murray*, who were of the Queen's Faction, lay a Plot to accuse Angus of high Treason. They challenge him, *That he kept the King against his Will, insolently restrained his Liberty, and that, contrary to the Order established by the Estates, which was, that the Custody of his Person should every Four Months, by Turns, be allotted to the Governours of the Country in a Circle; That he could not dispose of any Thing of Moment alone, the contrary of all which he had usurped: Whereupon they Charge him to dismiss the King, and restore him to them, and the other Counsellours equal in Government with him, under the Pain, he should be reputed a Traitor and no loyal Subject, for this invassalling his Prince to his Attendance.*

The Earl of Angus himself to this Answered not, but *Sir George* his Brother moved the King to give the Answer himself: *His Mother and those other Rulers should not be thus solicitous for him; for with none more chearfully, willingly and contentedly, could he live and spend his Time than with the Earl of Angus, neither could he leave the Company of One so highly favoured of his Uncle, and so well meriting of himself.*

For all this Answer, he had secretly sent Letters to his Mother, and those of the adverse Party, intreating, *They would remove him from the Earl, and not suffer him any longer to remain under his imperious Government, and if it could not be otherwise done, to accomplish it by main Force of Arms, if they had any Pity, or if any Sparks of Duty remained unquenched in them towards him, if they dared Enterprize ought for a Royal, though now thrall'd, Suppliant, or obey the Command of a King in Prison; that the Answer, which he sent before unto them and his Mother, was by Constraint and Compulsion drawn from him, and far from his Mind.*

Upon this Advertisement, the Queen and they of her Faction, assemble what Power they could raise in such a Suddenness at *Stirling*, and with great Expedition marched towards *Edinburgh* to separate the King from the Earl his Guardian; Who, resolv'd to repel Force by Force, with the Townsmen of *Edinburgh*, many Friends and Adherents, and the King, though against his Will, marched out of *Edinburgh*, to encounter and fight these Rebels. When the Leaders of the Queen's Forces understood the King in Person was in the adverse Army, either dazzled with the Splendour of the Presence of a King, or fearing, if they joined in Battel, the Person of their Prince might be endangered, or that they found themselves not strong enough in Number and Arms for a Conflict, they retired back again to *Stirling*, where they disbanded, and returned every Man to his own Dwelling-place: The Queen with the Earl of *Murray* went to *Murray-land*, the Earls of *Arran* and *Argyle* to the West, the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrew's* to *Dunfermling*.

This Faction being dissipated, the Earl of Angus remained more stable, and assured of his Guardianship, and now he findeth no Competitor.

The Want of the Great Seal being a Hinderance to many of his Projects, and he disdain'd to be a Suiter to his Enemy; for Dispatch of publick Affairs, caused the King send a Letter for it, and the Arch-bishop with all Respect sent it immediately to the Earl: with whom to be equal, he took himself to new Meditations.

The Queen many Wayes provok'd by her Husband the Earl of Angus, and lastly by detaining her Son against his Will and contrary to the publick Course agreed upon, the Arch-bishop perswaded her, *To intend a Process of Divorcement against him, and dissolve her Marriage; this might Produce some great Effect, at least it could not but diminish the Earl's Reputation among the People.*



People. The Queen and the Earl had many Times in private between themselves agreed upon a Separation, disliking each others Conditions; for it was fatal to her, as to her Brother King Henry, to delight in Change of Wedlock, and be jealous of her Matches. The Earl is therefore cited before the Arch-bishop of St. Andrew's to hear the Sentence pronounced according to the Laws of the Church in those Times: At the Day appointed he appeareth. The Queen alledged, *He had been betrothed, given his Faith and Promise of Marriage to a Noble Woman of the Kingdom (a Daughter of Traquair) before the marrying of her, and so by Reason of that Pre-contract he could not be her lawful Husband.* The Earl confesseth: The Arch-bishop pronounceth the Sentence of Divorcement, but with this Reservation and Restraint, *That the Child come of the Queen and the Earl the Time of their Marriage, by the Ignorance of the Mother (the Queen) should not suffer any Loss, Damage or Disadvantage.*

The King of England resented highly this Divorcement, and endeavour'd by his Letters to hinder it: For he thought some Things tolerable in Men, which were incompetent and shameful in Women, and after never carried such Respect to his Sister as he had done before. Of these she made little reckoning, for, after the Sentence given, she married Henry Stewart, Son to the Lord Evandale, whom K. James after, to do Honour to his Mother, promoted to be Lord Methuen, and General of his Artillery.

Whilst the King remained a Shadow to the Earl's Government, amidst so many Distractions, Discords and Jars of the Grandees, the Court turned solitary and unfrequented by any Noblemen, save these of the *Douglasse* own Faction, amongst which the Earl of Lennox, shewed himself most indifferent. For he for his own Ends attending the Court, in a short Time so framed himself to the King's Humour, that he delighted alone in his Conversation, and often hid none of his inward Thoughts and secret Intentions from him. Among others he many Times importuned him, "To give him a sound Advice, how he might be delivered from the Earl of Angus, of whose Bondage he had been long Weary, whose Rule over him was turned now into Tyranny, his Ambition having mounted to that Height, that he was not content to command the Kingdom, but to thrall and keep under his Sovereign Lord the King himself, that the Effects of his Governing were the dispersing of his Nobles, and banishing of his Mother from him."

The Earl of Lennox, who by his Familiarity with the King was become suspected by Angus, and had an Intention to tumble out a Man hated of his Prince, establish himself in his Place, and rule the young King alone, aggravating his and the Country's Miseries, told him, after much Intreaty, "The Lord of Balcleuch was the only Person to be imploy'd in such a Service; a Man of unlimited Desires, displeased, strong in Power, mightily hated, and who had inveterate Hatred against the Earl of Angus, and wanted Nothing but Opportunity to execute his Rancour: If this conceived Exploit had not a desired Success, then he himself would by main Force either win his Prince, or lose his Life in the Enterprize. The Laird of Balcleuch secretly advertised of the King's Intention giveth Way to much Oppression and many Insolences on the Borders, the Redress of which required the Presence of the Prince. Complaints are given against them, and the King, to do Justice, accompanied with the Earls of Angus, Lennox, Lords Hume, Fleming, and Erskin, with Cesford, Farnebast, and others, cometh to Jedburgh. But when they had stayed there some Days, small Redress was of Wrongs, no Justice executed, the chief Men of the Borders not producing the Delinquents of their Names, to answer according to Law, as was the ancient Custom. Thus as they came they were returning, when at Melroß, as they hover'd at the Passage of a Bridge over the Tweed, certain Companies of Men in Arms appeared on the Descents of Halidon Hill: Which being come within Distance of discerning, were known to be commanded by the Laird of Balcleuch, and number'd a Thousand, all Borderers and broken Men. The Earl of Angus, not a little mov'd at so sudden an Apparition, by an Herald craveth to understand their Intentions, and how in such a hostile Manner they dared come so near the King's Person, withal charging them under Pain of high Treason to retire. The Laird of Balcleuch's Answer was, he came to do the King Service, invite him to his House, and show him what Forces he was able to raise upon the Borders, when Necessity should require his Service and Assistance. That he would not obey a Charge contrary to the King's Mind, of which he was conscious, and herewith he marched forwards. Presently the Earl alighting on Foot, leaving the Earl of Lennox, Lords Erskine, and Maxwell, Sir George Douglas, and Ninian Crichtoun with the King, as Spectators of the Game, with the Lord Fleming, and others his Friends, marshall'd his Men for the Charge, which was given with a great Shout and Clamour of these Borderers. The Lord Hume, Lairds of Farnebast and Cesford had taken their Leave of the King, who gladly dismiss them, but upon Advertisement of the sudden Fray, being not far off they return in Haste with an Hundred Launces, in good Time for the Earl of Angus, and falling upon One of the Wings of Balcleugh's Troops, force them to yield Ground, and some to turn their Backs, upon which suddenly followeth the Chace, Cesford and Farnebast, eagerly pursuing. Here, at the Descent of a little Hill, by the Blow of a Lance, which a Domestick of Balcleugh's threw from his Arm, the Laird of Cesford is slain,



and by his Death the Chace left off to be follow'd, and a long deadly Fewd between the Scots and Cars was begun, Fourscore Borderers were kill'd, in this Bickering assisting *Balclegb*, himself was wounded with many of his Friends, the Earl of *Angus* lost not a few, besides the Laird of *Cesford*.

The Earl of *Angus*, after this Road of *Melroß*, perceiving his Enemies to increase, and the Affections of some of the Nobility turned from him, composing the old Difference between him and the Earl of *Arran*, entered into Conditions of a strict Friendship with him, and was content he should be his Partner and Fellow-governour in Distribution of Casualties and ruling the Country. When the King had considered how twice his Intentions had been broken, and unhapily without Success, he began to essay the Third by the Earl of *Lennox*, whom challenging of his Promise he desired to gather an Army, and joining his Forces with the Queen's to restore him to his Liberty. The Earl of *Lennox*, before suspected, after the League and Friendship of the Earl of *Angus* with the Earl of *Arran*, became a declared Enemy to *Angus*, withdrew himself from Court; And some few Months being past, at *Stirling* he maketh a Declaration to all the Lieges, of his Intentions, inviting them to assist and side with his Cause. One Thousand Men came from the High-lands to him, the Earl of *Cassils* and Master of *Kilmaurs* come from the West with Two Thousand, the Queen and Arch-bishop *James Beaton*, direct many of their Vassals from *Fyfe* to him: Thus with Three strong Brigades he marcheth towards *Linlithgow*.

The Earl of *Angus*, understanding these Preparations to be against him, imploreth the Assistance of his best Friends to withstand them, especially the *Carrs* and *Humes*, to whose Valour he had lately been so far obliged. He sendeth Letters to the Earl of *Arran* and the Gentlemen of the Name of *Hamilton*; "Regrating the Estate of the Common-Wealth, and requiring their speedy Aid. That, in so perilous a Time, setting aside all particular Respects and Quarrels, they would have a Care of the common Good of the Country. If the Earl of *Lennox* should carry the King from him, and remain Victor of the Field, he would not stay there, his next Mark would be the *Hamiltons*, whom he was in the Way to put from all Title to the Crown, the Report going already that the King would entail it to him out of his own Favour, and had designed him Heir to the Earl of *Arran*, he having no Children of his own. That the King had a Magnetical Affection towards him, which, if Fortune favoured him with a Victory, would increase, now meriting, which before was but meer Favour: The Custody of a young King was not for a Man of so short Experience. The *Hamiltons* finding that Man their Suppliant, who lately was their Competitor, delighting to live in a troubled State, and be Co-partners of the Government and managing the Affairs of the Kingdom, which was promised them in their new Bond of Friendship, laying aside all former Discontent and Grudge, accept the Quarrel, and assemble their Forces at *Linlithgow*. To this Town the Earl of *Lennox* was advancing; and, he being the Sister's Son of the Earl of *Arran*, by Gentlemen well affected towards him, and of his Kinred, they intreat him; "To turn back, and not to try the Hazard of a Battel for a Conquest: He could not long enjoy the Government of a young Prince, whom a little more Time would make Governour of himself, and who (perhaps) would reward his Service with Disgrace; it being ordinarily seen that great Obligations to Princes procure rather their Hatred than Love, whilst it is more easy to pay Men by Contempt than Benefits: That if he came forwards, no Interest of Blood would save him from their just and lawful Stopping his Passage and Enterprize. The Earl of *Lennox* answer'd, "It was no Time then in the Eye of the World to abandon so just a Quarrel; that Shame wounded deeper than Death, which he would rather embrace than not see his Prince at *Edinburgh*. And finding the Bridge over the *Avon* possess'd by the Enemy, pass'd his Companies over the River near the ancient Monastery *Manuel*; the Master of *Kilmaurs* guideth the Vanguard, consisting of West-land Men; the Earl of *Cassils* and himself the main Battel, many of which were High-land Men, being of all (as some write) Ten Thousand. The Earl of *Angus* having essayed in vain to bring the King to the Field with the Power of *Edinburgh*, leaving that Charge to his Brother Sir *George* and *Archbald Dowglas* Provost of the Town, accompanied with the *Humes* and *Cars*, being of all Two Thousand, maketh a speedy March towards *Linlithgow*. But the Earl of *Arran*, spur'd by the Ambition and youthful Heat of his Son Sir *James Hamilton*, had begun the Fight before he could appear: For a long Time it is valiantly fought, Victory inclining to neither Side, till a great Clamour arose seconded by the Appearance of fresh Troops of Enemies, the *Dowglasses* and their Friends: At which Alarm many of the High-land and West-land Men turned their Backs; the rest by the Advantage of the Place sustain the Fight.

The King, after much Loyerling and many Delays (having heard the Armies were near joining) and much Solicitation of Sir *George Dowglas*, issueth out of *Edinburgh* at a slow March. But when at *Corstorphine* Hills he was awaken'd with the Noise of the great Ordnance, he urged his Followers to make all Haste to come to the Fight. It was reported Sir *George Dowglas* drove his Horse in a great Rage, and gave him injurious Words, which he never after forgot. Being half Way he is advertised that the Earl of *Lennox's* Higland-men were fled, and

by



by all Appearance the Earl of *Arran* was Master of the Field: These News perplexed him not a little, but making the best of that worst, he dispatch'd all his Domestick Servants with *Andrew Wood of Largo*, to save so many as they could in the Chace, especially the Earl of *Lennox*, whose Life he now tendereth as his Crown. But this Earl, after he had been taken by the Laird of *Pardomy*, in cold Blood was unnaturally slain by *Sir James Hamilton*, who either killed or wounded on the Face all that came under the Dint of his Sword in the Rout.

They found the Earl of *Arran* mourning over his Corps, over which he had spread his Cloak; the Laird of *Howstoun* lay dead by him; the Master of *Kilmaurs*, sore wounded at their coming, maintained the Fight, and was by them with Difficulty saved, with so many others as either the King's Authority or their Power could rescue. This Conflict happened in September.

After the victorious Earls had pass'd their wounded Souldiers, and refreshed themselves in *Linlithgow*, they accompany the King to *Stirling*, and immediately march through *Fife* in Quest of those who had been the Cause of taking Arms against them, of which Number the Queen was; but the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's* was the most eminent, who, as before he had seconded *Arran* to surprize *Angus*, so now he had stirred up *Lennox* to the Overthrow of them both. Because the Arch-Bishop was not to be found (for he (as some record) was turned a true Pastour, and in Shepherd's Weeds kept Sheep on some Hill) they spoiled the Abbey of *Dumfermling*, and Castle of *St. Andrew's*, defacing all the Ornaments, and carrying away the Moveables and Stuff in them: The Queen with her Husband *Henry Stewart*, and *James* his Brother, betook them to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which the Lords at their Return besieged. The Mother hearing her Son was amongst the Besiegers in Person, obtaining Favour for her Husband and his Brother, caused the Gates to be cast open. But for their greater Safety, such who loved them, advised the King to commit them to that Place during his Pleasure.

Now the Earls of *Angus* and *Arran* summoned all who had born Arms against the King to appear in Judgement, and answer according to the Law as Traytors. Some compounded for Sums of Money, others became Dependents of the Houses of *Angus* and *Arran*: *Gilbert Earl of Cassils* being summoned and compearing, *Hugh Kennedy* his Kinsman answer'd the Indictment, that he came not against the King, but to assist the King, for Proof of which he offered to produce, the King's own Letter. Though the Earl of *Cassils* escaped the Danger of the Law, he did not the Fury of the Revenge, which was taken about some disparaging Words; for as he was returning home, he was surprized in the Way and killed; Some write, by the Sheriff of *Air*, but by the Direction of *Sir James Hamilton*.

About this Time the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and other Church-men, in Revenge of the spoiling of his Houses, and pursuing himself, for Questions of Religion, burn the Earl of *Arran's* Brother's Son *Mr. Patrick Hamilton*, and banish *Mr. Patrick's* Brother *James* Sheriff of *Linlithgow*.

Not long after, Men's Wrath by Time diminishing and their Blood growing colder, the Arch-Bishop having bestowed on the Earl of *Angus*, *Sir George* his Brother, and other their Friends, some Church Benefices and many Leases of Tithes, was reconciled unto them, and with Appearance of great Friendship they mutually entertained and feasted each others at *Christmas* in the City of *St. Andrew's*. But small Confidence could be long among reconciled Enemies.

Now went every Thing as the Earl of *Angus* could have wished, he was not only entire and familiar with the King's Person, but with his Office; some of his Enemies were dead, other overthrown in open Field, with the rest he was reconciled. No Faction for Power or Riches was equal to his; Nor remained there any Castle or Fortress not seized on by him, and garrisoned with his Friends and Followers, except the Castle of *Stirling*, a part of the Queen's Dowry, which being desolate by her Miseries, and only haunted by some of her poorest and meanest Servants, was neglected by the Earl, which in him was a great Errour, the Fitness of the Place for a Revolution and Change of Court considered. Many Days the Earl had not seen his own Dwelling Places, nor thought upon his private Affairs, being carried away by the Storms of Court: Now he thinketh he may securely pass to *Lothian*, whilst at *Faulkland* the King shall be safely entertained by his Brother *Sir George*, *Archibald* his Uncle, and *James* of the *Parkhead*, Captain of the Guards. Having earnestly intreated their Attendance on the King, he crosseth the *Forth*, with a Resolution soon to return. His departing was not so concealed, but the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's* had Knowledge of it, and he inviteth *Sir George*, to see him in the City of *St. Andrew's*, to receive the Leases of the Tithes promised, all now perfected, valid, and according to Law sufficient. Whilst *Sir George* is here detained, *Archibald* the Treasurer by other Letters, for Matters of Love, is inticed to *Dundee*; But nothing could make the Captain of the Guards leave his Charge. The King, amidst his solitary Walks in his Park of *Falkland*, considering of what a tedious Train he was relieved, and how suddenly Occasion might turn her bald Scalp, if presently he took not hold of her, resolveth to accomplish by Stratagem, what the Factions of his Nobles could not perform by Force. It is delightful to understand every particular Circumstance in the Progress of the Actions of Princes. Upon this



this Resolution he directeth the Forrester of the Park to give *Advertisement* to such Gentlemen about, who kept Hounds, the next Morning to attend him, for he would early have his Game. He suppleth sooner than his Custom was, entertaining the Captain of the Guards with more than usual Ceremonies and Representations of the next Morning's Sport, withal inviting him to go to his Rest, the Night being short about the Summer Solstice. The Waiters all shifted, and the Court hush'd, shutting his Chamber Door, in the Apparel of one of his Grooms, unperceiv'd he passed the Guard to the Stable; where, with Two who attended him with spare Horses, he posted to *Stirling*, where, by the Queen's Intelligence, he was expected in the Castle.

When the Certainty of this Escape was noised Abroad, many Noblemen repair to *Stirling*, some by Letters sent unto them, others at the Rumour of his Evasion, that in a little Time he found himself safe and far from any Danger again to be surprized, the Earls of *Argyl*, *Arbole*, *Glencairn*, *Monteith*, and *Huntley*; The Lords *Graham*, *Drummond*, *Livingston*, *Sinclair*, *Lindsay*, *Evandale*, *Ruthven*, *Maxwell*, *Semple*, the Earls of *Eglinton*, and *Roths*, and *James Beaton* Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, the Deviser of his Escape. The Earl of *Angus* full of mis-giving Thoughts, with many of his Friends, was also on his Way to *Stirling*, but Proclamations being made against him, *Discharging him from all his Offices and publick Functions, and being by an Herauld forbidden with his Friends and Followers to come near the Court by some Miles, under Pain of Treason*: Either moved by inward Terrors, or Love of the Peace of his Country, turned back to *Linlithgow*, where Two Days he attended News of the King's Pleasure, which at last was declared, *That neither he, nor none of his, should presume by some Miles to approach his Residence*. The more particular Favours were, *That the Earl should confine himself beyond the River of Spey in the North, whilst his Brother, Sir George Dowglas, should render himself Prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, and there remain during the King's Pleasure*. When the *Dowglasses* had refused these Offers, they are cited to answer according to Law, in a Parliament to be holden in September at *Edinburgh*.

Before the Day of appearing, the Earl of *Angus*, accompanied with an able Train of his Friends and Followers, essayeth to enter the Town of *Edinburgh*, and there attend the coming of the King; but by the Lord *Maxwel*, and the Lord of *Lochinvar*, who in the King's Name had invested the Town, he is kept out; and the King, with an unexpected Suddenness, with Two Thousand Men coming from *Stirling*, he removed. The Earl not appearing at the appointed Day, is, by Decree of Parliament, attainted and forfeited, with his Brother *Sir George Dowglas*, *Archibald Dowglas* his Uncle, *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock*, and Others.

The Points of which they were to be accused, were, *The assembling of the King's Lieges with Intention to have assailed his Person; The detaining of the King against his Will and Pleasure, and contrary to the Articles agreed upon the Space of Two Years and more; all which time the King was in Fear and Danger of his Life*. At the Parliament (some write) the King made a solemn Oath never to give a Remission to any of the *Dowglasses* there forfeited, as the Lords did, never to interceed nor request for any of them: And in Disgrace of the Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Stuart* who had married the Queen his Wife, was created Lord *Merbwen*.

The *Dowglasses* having all Favours denied them, being openly declared Enemies to the King and Country, commit all Hostility (the last Refuge of desperate Men) on their Enemies Bounds: *Caustrland* and *Cranstoun* are burnt; they ravage even to the Gates of *Edinburgh*, the Harmless People suffering for the Faults of the Great; under the Shadow of their Followers, all Robberies and Oppressions broke forth, and by whomsoever committed, are laid to their Charge. The King will not hear of them in any other Terms than as Oppressors and common Robbers. In their Defence they fortify their Castle of *Tantallon* with the readiest Provision taken from the nearest adjacent Bounds. In October the King raiseth a great Company of Souldiers; with great Ordnance, and other Engines of War brought from the Castle of *Dumbar*, *Tantallon* is besieged, but proveth impregnable; and *David Falconer* the General of the Ordnance at their removing is slain. A Commission is sent to the Earl of *Bothwell*, as the King's Lieutenant, to invade with Fire and Sword in all Places the *Dowglasses*, which he, either out of Humane Compassion, or that he knew wise Statesmen should extenuate the Faults of others rather than aggravate them, refused to accept. But the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *Hume*, accepting that Charge, prosecute them where they might be apprehended, till after much Misery and Night-wandering at Home, they were constrained with *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock*, who had been Partaker of their Misfortunes, by his Consanguinity with the Earl's Mother, who was Daughter to the Lord *Drummond*, to fly into *England*, where they were charitably received, and honourably entertained by King *Henry VIII*.

Now are the Offices and Lands of the *Dowgasses* disposed upon; the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Gavin Dumbar*, is made Chancellor; *Robert Barton*, who was in special Favour with the King, Treasurer, great Customer-General of the Artillery and Mines, and other their Charges are given unto others.

The King of *England* intending a War against the Emperor *Charles V*. sendeth Ambassadors to *Scotland* for a certain Time to treat a Peace, and if it were possible to reconcile the *Dowglasses* with the



the King. Five Years Truce was resolved upon; but for the *Dowglasses*, the King would hearken to no Offers; only *Alexander Drummond*, by the Intercession of *Robert Barton*, and the Ambassadors, had Liberty to return Home. When the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Earl of *Murray*, who had full Power to conclude a Truce, had met the other Commissioners upon the Borders, the factious great Men and Rank Riders there, put all in such a Confusion by urging Difficulties, that they parted without agreeing unto any Articles or certain Conclusions: Which the King took in so ill a Part, that divining from what Head this Interruption sprung, he committed sundry Noblemen to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, till they gave Hostages, and secured the Borders from Invasion or being invaded. In the Month of *June* following with great Power, he visited these Bounds, executing Justice upon all Oppressors, Thieves and Out-Laws. In *Ewsdale* Eight and Forty notorious Riders are hung on growing Trees, the most famous of which was *John Armstrong*; others he brought with him to *Edinburgh* for more publick Execution and Example, as *William Cockburn* of *Henderland*, and *Adam Scot* of *Tusbelaw*, named King of Thieves.

The Year 1530. the King instituted the College of Justice: Before it was ambulatory, removing from Place to Place by Circuits; Suits of Law were peremptorily decided by Baillies, Sheriffs, and other Judges; when any great and notable Cause offered it self, it was Judged Sovereignly by the King's Council, which gave free Audience to all the Subjects. The Power and Privileges of this College were immediately confirmed by Pope *Clement VII*.

In this Court are Fifteen Judges Ordinary, Eight of them being Spiritual Persons, of the which the most ancient is President, and Seven Temporal Men: The Chancellor of the Realm, when he is present, is above the President. There are also Four Counsellors extraordinary, removeable at the Prince's Pleasure.

This Institution is after that Order of Justice which is administred in *Paris*, first instituted by *Philip IV*. the *French King*, in the Year 1286.

The King about this Time storeth his Arsenals with all Sorts of Arms; the Castles of *Edinburgh*, *Stirling*, *Dumbarton*, and *Blackness*, are repaired and furnish'd with Ordnance and Ammunition.

Whilst no certain Truce is concluded between the Realms of *England* and *Scotland*, the Earl of *Angus* worketh in this Interim so with the King of *England*, that Sir *Edward Darcey* is sent to the Borders; who, when his Sollicitation, for Restoring the Earl, at the *Scottish* Court had taken no Effect, yea had been scorned, after he had stayed at *Berwick* with the garrisoned Souldiers, and some selected Companies out of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, maketh a Road into *Scotland*; *Coldingham*, *Dunglas*, and adjacent Villages they burn, and ravage the Country towards *Duns*. Some *Scottish* Ships and Vessels were also at this Time taken by Sea. When a Reason was sought of this Invasion in a Cessation of Arms and Calm of Truce; They require the *Dowglasses* may be restored to their ancient Inheritances, and whatsoever had been withheld from them, and that *Cannobie* (a poor Abbacy) be rendred to the English, as appertaining of old to the Crown of *England*. The Earl of *Murray*, being declared Lieutenant, maketh Head against them: But the English daily increasing in Number, and his Companies not being sufficient to make good against so many and large Incursions, the Power of *Scotland* is divided into Four Quarters, every one of which for the Space of Fourty Days by Turns taketh the Defence of the Country. The English finding by this Intercourse of new Souldiers the War to be prolonged, would have gladly accepted of Peace, but they disdained to sue for it to the Scots: It was thought expedient, that the *French*, a Friend then to both, should be a Mediator to reconcile them: Whereupon, after an Ambassador had come from *France*, Commissioners first meet at *Newcastle*, and after at *London*, *James Colvil* of *Easter Weems*, *Adam Otterburn* of *Redhall*, *William Stuart* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and the Abbot of *Kinloss*. These conclude a Peace To continue between the Two Realms, during the Two Princes Lives, and One Year after the Decease of him who should first depart this Life.

About this Time, the Secrets of the Ecclesiastical Doctrine and Authority beginning to be laid open to the View of the World, the politick Government of Kingdoms began to suffer in the Alteration and Discovery. The Lady *Katharine*, Daughter to *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, and Sister to the Mother of *Charles V*. Emperor, had been married to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, eldest Son to *Henry VII*. King of *England*; he dying, by the Dispensation of Pope *Julius II*, her Father-in-law gave her again in Marriage to *Henry* his other Son, the Brother of *Arthur*. This Queen though fruitful of Children, and often a Mother, brought none forth that long enjoyed Life, and came to any Perfection of Growth, except one only Daughter *Mary*. Her Husband either out of Spleen against the Emperour *Charles*; or Desire of Male Children, or other Causes known to himself, pretended great Scruples in his Conscience, would make himself and the World believe, that his Marriage was not lawful. After Deliberation with his Churchmen, whom he constrained to be of his Mind, he kept not longer Company with his Queen. His Churchmen used all their Eloquence to make the Queen accept of a Divorce, which she altogether refused, and had her Recourse to the Pope, who



recals the Cause to himself. At *Rome* whilst in the Consistory the Case is made difficult, and the Matter prolonged, King *Henry* impatient of Delays, and amorous, divorceth from his own Queen, and marrieth *Anne Bullen Anno 1533.*

Then the Pope, with his whole Cardinals, gave out their Sentence, That it was not lawful for him, by his own Authority, to separate himself from his Wife; that his Marriage with *Katharine* was most lawful, not to be questioned; and that under Pain of Excommunication he should Adhere unto her.

King *Henry*, well experienced in the great Affairs of the World, considering how the Threatnings and Thunders of the Bishops of *Rome*, even in these ancient and innocent Times, when they were believed and revered, in his Kingdom produced never great Effects, thought them to no Purpose in a Time when a Doctrine was publish'd to the World, embraced and believed of Numbers, by which they were contemned and scorned: Upon this and other Grounds he refuseth to Obey, and the Pope continueth his Menacing.

This Disorder and Boldness of the King of *England* moved the Emperor and the Pope to try if they could win the King of *Scotland* to arise in Arms against his Uncle King *Henry*. The Emperor essayed it under Pretence of other Business of great Importance: For having given Way to New Opinions in Religion amongst his Countrymen of *Germany*, and finding them mounted to that Height as to have produced the Effects he desired, [by this Division laying a Foundation to turn the Imperial Crown Hereditary to his own House, which, *Germany* being all of one Mind and undistracted, he could never have brought to pass] he compelleth the Bishop of *Rome* to condescend to a General Council or Assembly of the Clergy of *Europe*, the only and sovereign Remedy to cure diseased Minds, and accord different Opinions: But he knew well, that by the Church of *Rome*, Men would be delegated to this Meeting, turbulent, and so far from pacifying Tumults begun, that instead of Water they would apply Oil and Wood to these Flames, turn Opinions, before disputable, irreconcilable, and leave Matters worse than they found them. Having implored the Aid and Assistance of the Potentates about him to the setting forward of so Pious and Holy a Work, he sendeth *Godescalco Errico* (a *Sicilian*) for greater Secrecy, by *Ireland*, to the King of *Scotland*.

This Ambassador, for a Token of that Affection the Emperor his Master carried to the Person and Virtues of King *James*, presenteth him with the Order of the Golden-fleece, *Anno 1534.* with solemn Protestations for the observing of these ancient Leagues and Confederacies contracted between the Princes, his Master's Predecessors, and the Kings of *Scotland*, to continue ever amongst themselves.

His other Instructions were *Plaints of the Wrongs done to his Aunt Katharine, most unjustly repudiated and forsaken by a King forsaken of God and abhorred of Men. The Marriage of Anne Bullen should wound deeply King James, it being likely by her Succession he should be barred from his Right to the Crown of England. The Emperor, by his Ambassador expostulating the Wrongs of his Aunt, had gained nothing, but that for his Sake she was the worse entertained. To make more strong and lasting the Emperor's Friendship with King James, he (if he pleased) would make him an Offer, and give him the Choice of Three Ladies, Three Maries, all of the Imperial Stem; Mary of Austria the Emperor's Sister, Widow of Lewis King of Hungary; Mary of Portugal, the Daughter of his Sister Eleonora of Austria; Mary of England the Daughter of Katharine and King Henry: And would undertake the Performance of this last, either by Consent of her Father, or by main Force. The greatest but last of his Instructions was, that, to suppress the Heresies of the Time, he would concur with the Emperor for the convocating a General Council, and obviate the Calamities then threatening the Christian Religion.*

The King with great Chearfulness and many Thanks, that the Emperour entertained him with such Respect, and held him worthy so fair and Royal Alliance, and the Participation of Affairs of such Importance and Moment, received this Embassy.

For the Council, providing it were a general Council lawfully convocated by the Emperour and Christian Kings, as the First Councils were wont, free and holy (as nothing is more holy than a general Convocation of Christians) the most charitable and quiet of the Clergy, and such who would pacify Matters, not the greatest Zealots and fiery Spirits, or Men corrupted by Rewards, being delegated unto it, being premonished of the Time and Place, he would apply his Will unto his, assist him, thither send his best Oratours and most convenient Church-men. That, if a true Council could not be obtained, every Prince should reform the Errors of Doctrine, and Faults of the Clergy, within his own Dominions.

The Proceedings of his Uncle were grievous unto him, being a Man altogether thrall'd to his own Opinions. For the Good of the Christian Religion and Peace of Europe, it were expedient that all her Princes were united together in Amity and Love, and their Arms directed against the common Enemy, the Turk. For himself he would be Mediator to reconcile the Emperour and his Uncle, endeavour to recall him to the Love of his Wife, nor by any Perswasions be induced to condescend to ought prejudicial to Queen *Katharine*.

The Three Ladies were every one in the Superlative worthy, especially Mary of England, for that great Reason of uniting the Isle of Great Britain, but she was not in her own Power, nor in the Power



of the Emperor, that he could bestow her upon whom he pleased. That to ravish her out of the Hands of her Father would be, beside the Danger of the Enterprize, a breach of Divine and Humane Laws.

It was not safe for Paris, that he preferred one of the Three Goddesses to the other Two. For prizeing those Three (that the Emperor might know how dearly he respected and earnestly affected his Affinity) there remained a Fourth Lady near in Blood to the Emperor, Dorothea Daughter of Christian King of Denmark, and of Isabella the Emperor's own Sister, whom, besides her matchless Virtues, for the Vicinity of the Nation to his, and the Conformity of their harmless Humours, he made Choice to be Queen of his Affections and Dominions.

Godscallo answered this last, That a match with Lady Dorothea of Denmark, could not with the Emperor's Credit be brought to pass, because she was promised already to another, Frederick Elector Palatine, and the Marriage might be accomplished before News came to the Emperor of the King's Election.

This Choice of the King's was but an Evasion; for Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin Secretary, and David Beaton Abbot of Aberbrothock, under Pretence of renewing the League between France and Scotland, long before had been directed to France about a Marriage with the eldest Daughter of King Francis, which John Duke of Albany projected when the League between the Two Kingdoms was renewed at Rochel.

Henry King of England had now renounced all Obedience to the Bishop of Rome, and through his whole Dominions abrogated his Authority, and Paul III. after his assuming the Papacy, set forwards by the Emperour and his Cardinals, who thought either to recover England or burn it up by a Foreign or Civil War, never left thundring against him. But after John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was beheaded, (a Man Imprisoned for adhering to the Pope, then for his Persecution, and that the King might carry him the greater Respect, made Cardinal) the whole Conclave stir the Pope against King Henry; And full of Grief and Rage remonstrate what Ignominy and Danger would follow their Order, if this Example unpunish'd should have Way. They maintained the Papal Power against all Princes, which now for Fear of their Lives they would be forced to forsake, or to proceed with great Timorousness and Neglect, if by any secular Power they might be called in Judgement and embue Scaffolds with their Blood. The Pope, though highly provok'd, parted not from his Resolution, yet used a Sort of Moderation; he threatneth still to let fall the Blow, in the mean Time holding his Hand.

Thus to give Satisfaction to his Court, he formed a Process against King Henry, and a most severe Sentence, but abstained from the Publication of it during his Pleasure; Secretly sending many Copies of it to those Princes he thought could be useful to his Designs, when Occasion should serve, and he proceed, with a Constant Rumour of the Bull shortly to be put in Execution and publish'd.

Amongst many interested in Wrongs by the King of England, considering there was none comparable to the Nation and King of Scotland, he directeth hither John Antonio Campeggio. This Legate findeth King James at Falkland 22. February 1535, and here with many Ceremonies and Apostolical Benedictions, delivereth him a Cap and a Sword, consecrated the Night of the Nativity of our Saviour, which the Fame of his Valour and many Christian Virtues had moved his Master to remunerate him with. Also (saith the Original) that it might breed a Terror in the Heart of a wicked neighbouring Prince, against whom the Sword was sharpened.

The Pope's Letter, in most submissive Stile, contained, A Complaint for the Death of John Bishop and Cardinal of Rochester, miserably taken away by the Hand of an Hangman; The Calamities of England occasioned by the King's Divorce from Katharine of Spain, and his Marriage with Anne Bullen; That since the Roman Church had received great Disgrace and a deadly Wound, and by Patience procured daily more and more Wrongs from the King of England, she was constrained to use a searing Iron: For the Application of which, she had Recourse to his Majesty, a Prince for his Ancestor's Piety and his own renowned. His Aid, Maintenance, and Protection she implored; since King Henry was a Despiser, a Scorned, One who set at Naught the Censures of the Church, an Heretick, Schismatick, a Shameful and Shameless Adulterer, a publick and profest Homicide, Murderer, a Sacrilegious Person, a Church-Robber, a Rebel guilty of Lese-Majesty Divine, Outragious, many and innumerable Ways a Felon, and a Criminal: By all Laws heretofore justly to be turned out of his Throne: The King of Scotland for the Defence of the Church would undertake something worthy a Christian King and himself: He would endeavour to suppress Heresy, defend the Catholick Faith against those whom the Justice of Almighty God, and Judgments were now prepared, and ready to be denounced.

The King kindly entertaining the Legate, answered the Pope with much Regrate for the Estate and Stubbornness of the King of England. "Who would not be struck with Pity, that a King who of late amongst Christian Princes was honoured with the Title of Defender of the Faith, should be obnoxious to so many Crimes, that now amongst Princes he could scarce be reputed a Christian? This Compassion was common to him with others, but he by a Necessity of Nature, and Nearness of Blood felt a more piercing Sorrow; he should leave no Means



“ untried to recal his Uncle to the Obedience of the Church : And though by his Ambassa-  
 “ dors, he had Once or Twice gone about the same, but in vain, he would study a Way  
 “ how Face to Face he might give him his best Counsel, and remonstrate how much Good he  
 “ would do the Christian World and himself by returning again to the Bosom of the Church.  
 Mean while he requested him not to be heady, forward nor rash in executing the Sentence, against  
 his Uncle the King of *England*, which would but harden him in his Separation.

King *James* not having lost all Hopes of his Uncle, directeth the Lord *Erskine* to *England*,  
 to acquaint him with the Emperor's and Pope's Embassys ; and to take his Counsel about a  
 Marriage with the Duke of *Vendome's* Daughter, whom the *French* King had offered to him,  
 his own Daughter being weak and sickly. In this Embassy there was a Complaint against the  
*Londoners*, who in their Passage to the *Island-Fishing*, spoiled the Coasts of *Orkney* and the adja-  
 cent *Islands* : With a Request that King *Henry* would not succour the *Lubeckers* against the Duke  
 of *Holstein*.

The King of *England* not to prove inferior to the Emperour and Pope in conferring Honours  
 upon his Nephew, admitteth him to the Fraternity of the *Garter*, which he delivered to the  
 Lord *Erskine* his Ambassador. And thereafter dispatched *William* Lord *Howard*, Brother to the  
 Earl of *Norfolk* (as if that Name were a sufficient Scar-crow to the Pope's Sword and the Empe-  
 rour's *Golden-fleece*) to *Scotland*, who made such hasty Journeys that he prevented the News of  
 his coming, and at unawares found the King at *Stirling*. The Substance of his Embassy was,  
 “ That the Kings of *England* and *Scotland* might have an Interview at *York*, at which Meet-  
 “ ing the King of *Scotland* should be declared Duke of *York*, and General Lieutenant  
 “ of the Kingdom of *England*. That his Master having Instructions of the Alliances offered  
 “ him by neighbour Princes, did offer to his own and his Counsel's Judgments, if they could  
 “ find a more fit, than to contract a Marriage with his Daughter, which might be easily per-  
 “ fected, if his Master and King *James* could agree upon some few Points.

When the King had taken these Propositions into Deliberation, the Church-men suspecting  
 if this Meeting and Match had Way, the King would embrace the Opinions of the new Re-  
 formers, set all their Wits to overthrow it. The nearest Successors to the Crown, covering  
 their Claims and Interest, argued, “ That to marry the Lady *Mary* of *England*, who for many  
 “ Years would not be marriageable, was not a right Way to continue his Race by Procreation  
 “ of Children, and that his Impatience of living alone, would not be much abated by marry-  
 “ ing a Child. That King *Henry* projected this Marriage to no other End than to hinder him  
 “ from better Alliances, or to facilitate an Entry to the Kingdom. That when a Prince would  
 “ take Advantage of any neighbour Prince, it was more safely done by Alliance than open  
 “ Force. That it was more likely King *Henry*, being a wary Prince, never meant to marry  
 “ his Daughter at all as long as himself lived, but to keep her at Home with him, bearing  
 “ many Princes in Hand, to save him from Dangers both at Home and Abroad : Which  
 “ Counsel was practised lately by the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Most oppose neither to the Meeting of the Two Kings, nor to the Alliance, but to the Place  
 of their Meeting, which seemed unto them of no small Importance being in the Heart of *Eng-  
 land*, and amidst the most Martial People of that Nation.

They require the Two Kings might have their Interview at *Newcastle*, this Place, when they  
 should meet, being most commodious for furnishing all Necessaries by Ships ; That the Number of  
 their Train should be agreed upon, as One Thousand, which none of the Two Kings should exceed.  
 That the Time should be at the Feast of *Saint Michael the Arch-Angel*, between the Harvest and  
 the Winter, which would haste the Consummation of the Ceremonies, and not suffer the Kings to  
 prolong Time, but invite their Return to their own chief and principal Cities. When it was de-  
 clared to the Lord *Howard*, that the Consent of the Nobles of the Kingdom being  
 obtained, the Interview at the Feast of *Michaelmas*, at *Newcastle*, might be condescended unto ;  
 he would neither accept of the Place nor Time. His Master having already (as a Matter he had  
 never put in question) made great Preparations for this Interview at *York*, that he would think  
 his Offers slighted and an Affront put upon him, if any Excuses were alledged to the contrary : Thus  
 with some Bravadoes to the Council he departed.

The King to give Satisfaction to his Uncle of his Council's Proceedings with the Lord *Ho-  
 ward*, sendeth after him Sir *Adam Otterburn* of *Red-hall*, who layeth the Fault of his not  
 meeting, upon the Lord *Howard*, complaining, That he menaced the Counsellors, and would have  
 forced their Votes ; that he was a great Friend to Sir *George Dowglas* and other Rebels, who con-  
 voyed him to *Scotland*, and accompanied him back again. It was against the Credit and Honour  
 of Free-born Princes to be threatned ; what was friendly begun should friendly continue and End :  
 Princes should not be constrained, especially in Matters which were not of Debt but Beneva-  
 lence.

Amidst these Importunities and Solicitations King *James* with Five well Manned Ships taketh  
 the Seas, giving out a Voyage for *France* ; and the *French* record, it was his First Adventure  
 to come to them : But it is more likely this proceeded from Policy of State, to try the Affe-  
 ctions



ations and Demeanour of the great Ones of his Kingdom in his Absence, rather than any intended Voyage towards Foreigners. For with this Fleet he arriveth at *Orkney*, there in some Forts placeth Garrisons, sails about the Islands of *Sky* and *Lewis*, surpriseth the Chief of the Clans of those Highland Islanders, whom he sent for Hostages to the Castles of *Dumbarton* and *Edinburgh*. And when by the Skill of one *Alexander Lindsay* his Pilot, he had founded the remotest Rocks of his Kingdom, he was driven by Storms to take Land at *St. Ninian's* near *Whitehorn* in *Galloway*. This Voyage bred great Fear in those Islanders and Savages, and brought long Peace and Quietness to those Countreys thereafter. At his Return to *Edinburgh*, for Disorders committed or surmised in his Absence, most Part of the great Men near the Borders are charged to enter their Persons in Ward during the King's Pleasure. *Walter Scot* of *Balcleugh* is committed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the Lord *Hume* to the Castle of *Down*, *Farnehaft* to *Falkland*, the Laird of *Johnston* and *Mark Car* to *Dundee*: And others elsewhere. He knew the common Riders never made Incursions without either the Command or Tolerance of these Superiours.

The remote High-lands and Borders being made peaceable by the Incarcerations of the Chiefs of the Clans and Families there commanding, he may when Occasion is offered in Person visit any neighbour Prince or State. To second his former Ambassadors in their Suit in *France*, he had sent the Earl of *Murray*, *William Stuart* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, with others: And King *Francis* in Regard of the Indisposition of his Daughter *Magdalen*, had made an Offer to them of his nearest Kinf-woman, *Mary of Bourbon*, Daughter to *Charles Duke of Vendome*.

The King's Mind having been long troubled with youthful Thoughts by the many Matches offered him; and thinking Marriages contracted and trusted to the Eyes of others, one Way or other deficient, resolveth to go in Person and Woo for himself. Upon this Resolution he embarked at *Leith*, concealing the Intention of his Voyage; many suppose he maketh for *England* to pacify his Uncle, for many wished the same; Whilst he is on the Ocean, the Winds contrarying his Course, a violent Tempest separating his Ships, the Pilot asketh him, to what Coast he would direct his Course; To any thou best likest (answered the King) except towards *England*. The Storm encreasing and Sleep shutting up the King's Eyes, these who accompanied him, command the Pilot to turn Sails again for *Scotland*, and not struggle with that Pitiless Element; for Matters which might be delayed, and a little Time could not turn worse. So when the King awoke, he found himself near his own Harbours upon the *Forth*, and was so highly displeased with the Authors of his Return, that he never pardoned them. The Fault was laid on Sir *James Hamilton*, and to stir him up more against this Man, there wanted not who said, His Obedience to his Prince was dissembled, that he accompanied his Master to no other End in his Voyage, than to cross his Intentions so far as was in his Power.

The Season thereafter being more fit for Navigation, he ascendeth his Ships again at *Kirkcaldie*, and with a prosperous Wind the Tenth Day after arrived at *Diep* in *Normandy*: The Earls of *Arran*, *Argile*, *Rothbess*, *Errol*, Lords *Fleming* and *Boyd*, attended him, with many Barons and Knights: The Earls of *Murray*, young *Lennox* and *Cassils*, the Lord *Erskine* and Abbot of *Aberbrothock* expected him at *Paris*; but he preventing the Fame of his coming, with a small Train holdeth his Way to *Vendome*, to see the Lady *Mary of Bourbon*, all which Way, one *John Tennant* personating the Lord of the Company, he passed undiscryed. But being come to *Vendome*, whether the Lady had a Letter for the same from *David Beaton*, or that by matching the Faces of one of those Strangers with a Portrait she had of King *James*, in Likeness (as she said) he was found out, and challenged by the Lady of that Fault, which was easily confest and pardoned. He found her very beautiful, and eminent in all Princely Excellencies, but be- thinking how he having Choice of Three Princesses, all Daughters of Kings, if he should fix his Affection on this Lady at the first Interview, he should be obnoxious to the Indignation of the other, he returned as he came towards *Rouen*, where his Nobles attended him, and having understood that King *Francis* was to give the Emperor Battel in *Provence*, quitting his Retinue he posted towards him. The Dauphine meeteth him at the Chappel between *Tarray* and *St. Saphorin* in the Country of *Lions*. King *Francis* receiveth him with as much Honour as could be desired, and convoyeth him to *Paris*: The Peers of the Kingdom haste from all Quarters thither to entertain this Stranger Prince, and the Court is changed into an Academy of Knightly Exercise, where King *James* proveth inferiour to none in Feats of Arms. *Magdalen* the King's eldest Daughter is his Mistress, a Lady fair, young, of a lovely Countenance, and comely Behaviour, above all others of the Kingdom. The Lady *Margaret* her younger Sister (who after was married to the Duke of *Savoy*) is offered to him, by Reason of the tender and weak Disposition of her Sister: But *Magdalen* by the Glaunces of her Princely Woer re-obtain- ing her Health (her Body as it were following the Temperature of her Spirit, or that it appeared to her self and her Father so) King *James* continuing in his First Resolution, the Marriage is contracted between them, an Hundred Thousand Crowns of the Sum being promised in Dowry, besides Thirty Thousand Franks of yearly Pension during the Life of King *James*; the Jointure assured to her by the King of *Scotland*, was all the Lands possessed by any former



Queen, the Earldoms of *Strathern* and *Fife*, with the Palace of *Falkland*, and other Lands of the best and most certain Revenue.

Thus *Anno 1537.* in the Church of *Nostre-Dame* in *Paris*, the King of *Scotland* married the Lady *Magdalen* in Presence of her Father, Seven Cardinals, the King of *Navarr*, and many great Dukes and Barons.

King *Francis* after the Solemnities of this Marriage, *Picardy* and *Piedmont* being then over-run by the *Imperialists*; and King *James* fearing he might suffer Wrong in his Absence, by the King of *England*, with Assurance of mutual Amity, part from other in the End of *April*, and from *New-haven* the Queen with her Husband the 29th of *May* arrives at the Port of *Leith*. It is reported, that after she put her Foot on the Shore, upon her Knees she kissed the Ground, Praying for all Happiness, to the Country and People. Never Queen in so short a Time was more beloved of her Husband, nor sooner made Conquest of the Hearts of her Subjects: Nor was there greater Hopes conceived of any Alliance than of this, nor greater Joy did ever arise for those Hopes: But as in the Life of Man there is ever remaining more of Bitter than Sweet; so were these Contentments but Shadows, matched with the real Sorrow that the Death of that young Lady brought forth. For she lived not many Weeks after her Arrival in *Scotland*, when of a Fever, which she contracted in *June*, she departed this Life in *July*: She was buried with the greatest Mourning *Scotland* ever till that Time was participant of, in the Church of *Holy-rood-house* near King *James II.*

These last Honours to the dead Queen and funeral Pomp finished, the King (desirous of Succession) hath yet his Thoughts wandering in *France*: *Mary of Bourbon*, Daughter to *Charles Duke of Vendome*, being frustrate of her Royal Hopes, had not only turned Religious, but was dead of Displeasure. Whilst he disported himself at the Court of *France*, he had been acquainted with a Lady rich in all Excellencies, who next *Magdalen* had the Power of his Affections, *Mary of Lorrain*, Sister to *Francis*, Daughter to *René*, Duke of *Guise*, and Widow of the Duke of *Longueville*: Her he thinketh, for her Stemm, healthful Complexion, Fertility (for she had been a Mother) and other Fortunes, worthy of his Love. But to try her Affection towards him, he directeth *David Beaton* his late Paranymp, and the Lord *Maxwel* to *France*. Whilst they traffique this Marriage, many false Accusations (as Plots laid against his Person) are intended one after another at the Court, amongst which Two are remarkable for their notable Calumny.

*John* eldest Son to the Lord *Forbes*, a young Gentleman Chief of his Name, hardy and valorous, but ill brought up, and therefore easily suspected to be capable of any Sin, had for a Servant or Companion, and ordinary Sharer of his Pleasures, one named *Strachan*, a Man come of the Dreg of the People, and perfectly wicked. This Man, after much Familiarity, and some secret Service and Attendance, to satiate his insatiable Desire, desired earnestly something from the Master of *Forbes*, which he passionately refused to give him, upon which, carried away with Rage and Malice, he not only renounced his Friendship and Service, but betook himself to the Service of his Enemy the Earl of *Huntly*: By whose Advice he forgerth a malicious Plot to overthrow him. To compass their Design they accuse the Master of *Forbes* to have had once an Intention and Mind to kill the King, that the *Dowglasses* might be restored to their wonted Honours and ancient Possessions. By Price and Prayers Witnesses are procured to prove this against him, and convict him, or at the least to leave him suspected and tached with this Treason. Though this Crime was not sufficiently and clearly proved, yet was the Master of *Forbes* indicted and convicted by an Assize, for having conspired the King's Death, for which he was beheaded and quarter'd, and his Quartets set aloft upon the Gates of *Edinburgh*.

This Gentleman's Death proveth, how dangerous the Society and Company of the Wicked is to any; for ascending the fatal Scaffold, he justified his Innocence of what was laid to his Charge, but confessed the Guilt of the Laird of *Drum's* Blood by the Justice of God brought him to that End. His Father the Lord *Forbes* was, upon Suspicion, kept long after in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The King when he could not amend what was past, testified he was grieved at the Death of this Nobleman; for he banished *Strachan*, because he had so long concealed the Treason of *Forbes*, Silence, in a Matter importing no less than the Life of a Prince, being reckoned equal to the Treason: He made his Second Brother one of his Domesticks, restoring him to the Estate which was forfeited.

This Thunder-clap was immediately followed by another, for the Quality of the Person, and Strangeness of the Crime deplorable, but more for the Horror and Terror of the Punishment.

*Jane Dowglas*, Sister to *Archibald Earl of Angus*, the Widow of *John Lyon Lord Glamis*, with her Husband *Archibald Campbel of Keepneath*, her young Son the Lord *Glamis*, and an old Priest, were brought to *Edinburgh*, committed, and accused that they design'd to have poisoned the King. Their Accuser was *William Lyon*, a Kinsman of the late Lord *Glamis*. This Treason had no Probability of Truth among such who knew the Accused, being Persons who lived far from the Court in their Solitary Mansions, seldom or never almost seeing the King. Nevertheless



less their Accusations were believed, and strict Command given to the Judges to dispatch their Process.

*William Lyon* aggravating the Case, represented to the King the ancient Faults of the Family of the *Dowglasses*, committed against his Predecessors, the particular Wrongs of *Earl Archibald* now stirring up the English against him, and ravaging his Borders; That he should believe, he not being able to be restored to his first Estate, by Prayers and Solicitations of Neighbour Princes, nor by open Force, did now set on Work his last Engines to come to his End, though it were with the Life of his Sovereign; That in so secret and dangerous a Plot he could not use but his nearest Kinred, a Woman, and his own Sister, might attempt such a Mischief, her Sex and other Qualities making her less suspected to have Access to his Person.

Suppose clear Proofs could not be found against her, the whole Race of the *Dowglasses* should be extirpated, being a Linage only fertile in bringing forth Monsters of Rebellion. That by sparing her Life, and suffering her to escape, he should afford her Time, Licence and Power to execute what she but now (perhaps) had intended.

The King not knowing the Man's particular Hatred against this Lady (for some write, He did inform against her in Revenge that she refused to marry him, giving her self to another) suffered the Process to be concluded.

Some of the Judges would have referred her to the King's Clemency, till a farther Tryal of the Witnesses might be had, upon whose Testimony the Process did depend, it being a safer Way in Judgment to absolve the Guilty, than condemn the Innocent. But the most Part gave her over to the Affizers; the better Part of which being in Voices fewer, the greater, who neither respecting Conscience within them, nor Shame with the present Age and Posterity; nor the Supreme Justice of Heaven, find this poor Lady guilty, and she is condemned to be burnt alive. Her Sentence was executed the Fifth Day after the beheading of the Master of *Forbes* on the Castle-hill of *Edinburgh*, in Sight of her Husband. Who either out of Revenge or Fear, after this Tragical End of his Lady, seeking to save himself by Escape out of the Prison, whilst he came over the Wall, by the Shortness of the Cable was dashed against the Rock, and found dead. Though the tender Years of the Lord *Glamis*, her Son, proved his Innocence, yet he remained Prisoner in the Castle till after the King's Death. The old Priest, when, after Torture, Nothing could be proved against him, was set at Liberty. *William Lyon* the Author of this Calumny, was banished the Country, which justified the Lady's Integrity, and verified, that however Princes love to find out Treason, they hate the Informers, except upon clear Grounds.

Upon the like Suspicions *Drumlanrig* and *Hempfield* ancient Barons, having challenged others, had leave to try the Verity by Combat: The Lists were designed by the King (who was a Spectator and Umpire of their Valour) at the Court of the Palace of *Holy-rood-house*. They appeared upon the Day, armed from Head to Foot, like ancient Paladines, and after many enterchanged Blows to the Disadvantage of their Casks, Corseters and Vantbraces, when the one was become Breathless, by the Weight of his Arms and Thunder of the Blows, and the other (who was short-sighted) had broken his ponderous Sword, the King, by Heralds, caused separate them, with Disadvantage to neither of these Champions, and the Verity which was found, was, that they dared both fight in close Arms.

The Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, and the Lord *Maxwell*, by many enterchanged Letters full of Princely Love, had assured the King and the Lady *Mary* of *Lorraine*; and Articles being agreed upon, to the great Content of the French, they were espoused by Proxy, as is the Custom among Princes, with great Triumph in the City of *Paris*, in the Presence of the French King and many Peers; after which Solemnity *Monsieur d'Annabault* Admiral of France, accompanied her to *New-haven* in the Beginning of the Month of June 1538, where she embarked, and with many French Ships, when she had been tost on the Seas, came to *Fife-ness*; where, at *Carail* she was attended by the Noblemen, and the King, who consummated the Marriage in the Cathedral Church of *St. Andrew's* in July.

Nothing more linketh the Affections of the married than Children: The First Year the Queen answereth her Husband's Hopes, and in *St. Andrew's* was delivered of a Son, who was named *James*, the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's* and *Earl of Arran* being his God-Fathers, and the old Queen, the King's Mother, his God-Mother, 1539. In February thereafter she was crowned Queen of Scotland in the Abby-Church of *Holy-rood-house* by the Abbot of *Aberbrothock*; at which time *Margaret* the old Queen falling sick at *Metboen* in few Daies departed, and was buried in the Charterhouse of *St. Johnston* near the Tomb of King *James I.* The King her Son, with all the Nobility, and Gentry being present at her Funerals, which were celebrated in most solemn and pompous Manner. Not long after *James Beaton* Arch-Bishop, a Man of great Age, followed this Lady to the other World: He had provided Successors to his Benefices, and his Arch-Bishop's See to *David Beaton*, afterwards Cardinal, whom the King accepted and admitted without Contestation.

The Kingdom now began to be divided in Opinions of Religion, they which held the Helm of State, labouring in vain to reconcile them; the King was sore perplexed and uncertain



what Course to follow; suppress them he could not; to give Way to them, without shaking the strongest Beams of the Policy of his Kingdom, seem'd unto him impossible; his Privy Counsellors being more of his antient Servants, than Nobles or Church-men (of which many were groping through these flecked Clouds of Ignorance) as they favoured gave their Opinions, some one Way, some another, and a Freedom of Speech being given, one of them, as they were in his Chamber together, spake to him to this Purpose.

Sir, amongst the many Blessings your Subjects enjoy under this your Government, this is not the least, that for the Weal of your Majesty, and the publick Good of the Kingdom, the meanest of your Subjects may freely open his Mind and declare his Opinion unto you his Sovereign.

And if ever there was a Time in which grave, good and sound Counsel should be delivered to your Majesty, it is this, and the Difficulties of the Common-wealth do now require it. Not ever, in Matters of Advice and Consultation, can we embrace and follow what is most reasonable, and what according to Laws, Justice, and Equity should be, but what Necessity driveth us unto, and what is most convenient for the present Time to be, and what we may well and fairly accomplish and bring to pass.

The Estate of your Kingdom is troubled with Diversity of Opinions concerning Religion; It is to be wisht that the one only true Religion were in the Hearts of all your Subjects, [Since Diversity of Opinions of Religion and Heresies are the very Punishment of God Almighty upon Men for their horrible Vices and roaring Sins. And when Men forsake his Fear and true Obedience, God abandoneth them to their own Opinions and Fantasies in Religion; out of which arise Partialities, Factions, Divisions, Strife and intestine Discords, which burst forth into Civil Wars, and in short Time bring Kingdoms and Common-wealths to their last Periods.] But Matters arising to such a Height and Disorder, as by all Appearance, they are like to advance in this Kingdom, the Number of the Sectaries daily increasing, without dissembling my Thoughts to your Majesty, the Preservation of the People being the Supream and Principal Law which God Almighty hath enjoyned to all Princes.

I hold it more expedient to give Place to the Exercise of both Religions, than under Pretence and Shadow of them to suffer the common Peace of your Subjects to be torn in Pieces. What can Wisdom (Sir) advise you to do with these Separatists? Either they must be tolerated for a Time, or they must altogether be removed, and that by Death or Banishment.

So soon as a Prince beginneth to spoil, banish, kill, and burn his People, for Matters abstract from Sense and altogether spiritual, he becometh as it were a Plague unto them. It is an Error of State in a Prince, for an Opinion of Piety to condemn to Death the Adherers to new Doctrine. For, the Constancy and Patience of those who voluntarily suffer all temporal Miseries and Death it self for Matters of Faith, stir up and invite Numbers, who at first, and before they had suffered, were ignorant of their Faith and Doctrine, not only to favour their Cause, but to embrace their Opinions, Pity and Commiseration opening the Gates. Thus their Belief spreadeth it self abroad, and their Number daily encreaseth.

It is no less an Error of State to banish them: Banished Men are so many Enemies abroad, ready upon all Occasions to invade their Native Country, to trouble the Peace and Tranquillity of your Kingdom.

To take Arms against Sectaries and Separatists will be a great Enterprize, a Matter hard and of many Dangers: Religion cannot be preached by Arms; the first Christians detested that Form of Proceeding; Force and Compulsion may bring forth Hypocrites, not true Christians. If there be any Heresy amongst your People, this Wound is in the Soul; our Souls being Spiritual Substances upon which Fire and Iron cannot work, they must be overcome by Spiritual Arms: Love the Men, and Pity their Errors.

Who can lay upon a Man a Necessity to believe that which he will not believe, or what he will believe, or doth believe, not to believe. No Prince hath such Power over the Souls and Thoughts of Men as he hath over their Bodies. Now to ruin and extirpate all those Sectaries, what will it prove else than to cut off one of your Arms, to the great Prejudice of your Kingdom and Weakning of the State? They daily increasing in Number, and no Man being so miserable and mean, but he is a Member of the State. The more easy Manner and nobler Way were to tolerate both Religions, and grant a Place to Two Churches in the Kingdom, till it shall please Almighty God to return the Minds of your Subjects, and turn them all of one Will and Opinion; Be content to keep that which ye may, Sir, since ye cannot that which ye would.

It is a false and erroneous Opinion, That a Kingdom cannot subsist which tolerateth Two Religions: Diversity of Religion shutteth not up Society, nor barreth civil Conversation among Men; a little Time will make persons of different Religions contract such Acquaintance, Custom, and Familiarity together, that they will be intermixt in one City, Family, yea Marriage-Bed: State and Religion having nothing common.

Why (I pray) may not Two Religions be suffered in a State (till by some sweet and easy Means they may be reduced to a right Government) since in the Church (which should be Union it self, and



and of which the Roman Church much vaunteth) almost infinite Sects and Kinds of Monks are suffered; differing in their Laws, Rules of Government, Fashions of Living, Dyet, Apparel, Maintenance and Opinions of Perfection, and who sequester themselves from our publick Union? The Roman Empire had its Extension, not by Similitude and Likeness of Religion. Different Religions, providing they Enterprize or Practise Nothing against the Politick Laws of the Kingdom, may be tolerated in a State.

The Murthers, Massacres, and Battels, which arise and are like daily to encrease amongst Christians, all which are undertaken for Religion, are a Thousand Times more execrable, and more open, plain, and flat Impiety, than this Liberty of Diversity of Religions, with a quiet Peace, can be unjust.

Forasmuch as the greatest Part of those who flesh themselves in Blood and Slaughter, and overturn by Arms the Peace of their Neighbours (whom they should love as themselves) spoiling and ravaging like famished Lyons, sacrifice their Souls to the Infernal Powers, without further Hopes or Means of their ever recovering and coming back, when those others are in some Way of Repentance.

In seeking Liberty of Religion, these Men seek not to believe any Thing that may come in their Brains; but to use Religion according to the first Christian Institutions, serving God and obeying the Laws under which they were born.

That Maxime so often repeated amongst the Church-men of Rome, That the Chace and following of Hereticks is more necessary than that of Infidels, is well applyed for the enlarging and increasing the Dominions, Sovereignty and Power of the Pope, but not for the amplifying and extending of the Christian Religion, and the Weal and Benefit of the Christian Common Wealth.

Kingdoms and Sovereignities should not be governed by the Laws and Interests of Priests and Church-men, but according to the Exigency, Need, and as the Case requireth, of the Publick Weal, which often is necessitated to pass and tolerate some Defects and Faults. It is the Duty of all Christian Princes to endeavour and take Pains that their Subjects embrace the true Faith, as that semblably, and in even Parts they observe all God's Commandments, and not more one Commandment than another.

Notwithstanding when a Vice cannot be extirpate and taken away, without the Ruine of the State, it would appear to Humane Judgements that it should be suffered. Neither is there a greater Obligation, Bond, or Necessity of Law, to punish Hereticks more than Fornicators, which yet for the Peace and Tranquillity of the State are tolerated and past over. Neither can a greater Inconvenience and Harm follow, if we shall suffer Men to live in our Common-wealth who believe not, nor embrace all our Opinions. In a State many Things are for the Time tolerated, because they cannot, without the total Ruine of the State, be suddenly Amended and Reformed.

These Men are of that same Nature and Condition of which we are; they worship, as we do, one God, they believe those very same holy Records; We both aim at Salvation; We both fear to offend God; We both set before us One Happiness. The Difference between them and us hangeth upon this One Point, that they having found Abuses in our Church, require a Reformation. Now shall it be said for that we run diverse Ways to One End, and understand not rightly others Language, we shall pursue others with Fire and Sword, and extirpate others from the Face of the Earth? God is not in the bitter Division and Alienation of Affections, nor the raging Flames of Seditions, nor in the Tempests of the turbulent Whirl-winds of Contradictions and Disputations, but in the calm and gentle Breathings of Peace and Concord: If any wander out of the High-way, we bring him to it again; If any be in Darkness, we shew him Light and kill him not. In Musical Instruments, if a String jar and be out of Tune, we do not frettingly break it, but leisurely veer it about to a Concord: and shall we be so Churlish, Cruel, and Uncharitable, and so wedded to our own superstitious Opinions, that we will barbarously banish, kill, and burn those whom by Love and Sweetness we might readily win and recal again?

Let us win and bring over these Men by Reason, Let them be cited to a Free Council; it may be they shall not be proved Hereticks, neither that they maintain Opinions condemned by the Ancient Councils. Let their Religion be compared and parallel'd with the Religion of the First Age of the Church.

Shall we hold this People worse than the Jews, which yet have their Synagogues at Rome it self? Let them receive Instructions from a free and lawful Council, and forsake their Errors, when they shall be clearly and fairly demonstrated unto them. Heresy is an Error in the fundamental Grounds of Religion; Schism intendeth a Resolution in Separation: Let a good Council be convoked, and see if they be ready, or not, to re-unite themselves to us.

That which they believe is not evil, but to some it will appear they believe not enough, and that there is in them rather a Defect of Good than any Habit of Evil. Other Points, when they shall be consider'd, shall be found to consist in external Ceremonies of the Church, rather than in Substance of Doctrine, or what is essential to Christianity. These Men should be judg'd before condemn'd, and they should be heard before they be judg'd; which being holily and uprightly done we shall find it is not our Religions, but our private Interests and Passions which troubleth us and the State.



The King followed not this Opinion, but gave himself over to the Counsel and Government of the Prelates. They remonstrate to him, " That he should not rashly alter approv'd and long received Customs; that there was nothing more dangerous in Government, than to abase the Authority of antient Laws. Let him well consider and set before his Eyes the Malice of Man, who ever when he is drawn off one Course of Evil precipitath himself in a Worse. It was less evil in the State to tolerate Disorders known, unto which usual and accustomed Remedies might be applyed, than by altering and changing Foundations to give Way to new; to find out Remedies to which, would take up and consume a whole Age. That this would be a Way, not only to take away the Abuses, but even the good Uses of every Thing, and put in Hazard all Matters and main Points concerning Religion. They desired him to consider how there were Two Sorts of Persons affecting these new Opinions and studying Novations. The Multitude or common People, and some of the Nobility and Gentry. It was likely the common People might be deceiv'd; and to give them Satisfaction, and appease them, by granting them a Reformation or Change in Religion, would nor be a Means to illuminate and instruct them, but to bring in a popular Licence. If he should suffer them to misbelieve, distrust, and call in Question Points of Religion, or search or find out more Light, they would immediately thereafter presume to make Laws and limit the Government, by Degrees restraining the Sovereign Authority, and after they had examined, sifted narrowly, and discuss'd Ecclesiastical Authority, they would essay to correct and find out the Difficulties of the Temporal. That it was more easy to oppose and resist the First Demands of the Multitude, than pleasing them in a Part, after to bound and limit their Desires and Petitions. As to the great Men of his Nobility and Gentry he might be assured they had no Religion and Piety for their Ends, but to impatronize and lay hold on the Church Rents, and Ecclesiastical Goods; to turn absolute and free Men, acknowledging neither Church nor King. To this End, many reserved themselves, and kept close their Opinions, attending the Change; which once appearing, their Faces would turn all one Way. Which imminent Evils, if the King would prevent, there was no other Means than to use his Authority and Power, whilst the most and greatest Part of his Kingdom yet obey'd him. That Celerity in this was most necessary, before their Number increas'd, and ere they discover'd that universal Commodity, which would follow the embracing of these New Opinions. It was safer to compose these Tumults by his absolute Command and Authority; and, if this produced not the wished Effect, to perform it by Arms, than to give Reins to a popular Licence, and the Ambition of Great Men.

After this Counsel had prevailed, most rigorous Inquisitions are established, and Punishments denounced against all who professed Opinions differing from the Church of Rome.

Whereupon some out of a muffled Zeal of Religion, others to Revenge their particular Quarrels, most to possess Moveables and Lands, pursue many to Judgment. Of which some are executed by Fire, others banished, many imprisoned, amongst which was that famous Poet and Historian *George Buchanan*, who whilst his Keepers slept, escaped by a Window of the Prison, the Muses holding the Cable. The more frequent the publick Executions were and Banishments, the greater Number embraced the Opinions of them which suffered.

The King of *England* having understood that the Pope, giving out the confirming of a Peace between the Emperor and the *French* King, had a Meeting with them at *Nice* (a Maritime Town upon the Confines of *Provence*) and assuring himself that Matters there would be both consulted upon, and determined to his Prejudice, sendeth again to his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, that he would come and see him at *Tork*, for now he had more vehemently irritated the Pope, having condemned as Rebels, and confiscated the Goods of all who maintained Papal Authority, and raised from their Tomb the Bones of *Thomas Becket* (commonly named *Saint Thomas of Canterbury*, canoniz'd by Pope *Alexander III.* for being kill'd for the Maintenance of the Liberties of the Church 1171. to whom there was yearly a Festival Day kept by the *Roman* Church) and by the Hands of a common Executioner caused burn to Ashes, and throw them into the River. The revealing of which to the World was a Secret more derogatory to the Pontifical State, than any stumbled upon heretofore, or opened up. Upon this the Sentence of Excommunication, some Years deferred, was pronounced against him. By which he was deprived of his Kingdom, and those who adhered to him, declared incapable of what they possessed. His Subjects were absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and discharged to Obey him. Strangers were inhibited Traffick with his Kingdom. All Christians charged to arise in Arms against him. The Estates, Goods and Persons of such Subjects as followed him, given over to be a Prey and Spoil to any would invade them.

It was Time for him to look to himself. Such of the Nobility as loved Peace, and the Weal of the Two Kingdoms, stirr'd up King *James* to this Interview, especially they who favour'd the Reformed Religion; assuring him " King *Henry* was disposed with all Demonstrations of good Will; that his Person would be far from any Danger. And if by this Conference they should join in Bands of Amity, a great Benefit to themselves, Country and Posterity would

" redound



“redound. Why would King *Henry*, in the Face of the World and Neighbour Princes, brand  
“so his Reputation, as to break the Laws of Hospitality, wrong a Prince whom he had invi-  
“ted to come and see him? Why would he violate those of Consanguinity, attempting against  
“his own Nephew? The Emperor *Charles V.* had been his Guest, and after Royal Entertain-  
“ment, was friendly dismissed. He met with *Francis* the French King at *Buloign*; which  
“Meeting seemed rather of Brothers come to countenance some Marriage-Pomp, than conten-  
“ding Neighbours. If King *Henry* had born any Discontent against his Nephew, he might  
“long ere now have satisfied his Ambition, and at more easy Rate, when the King his Father  
“with most of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* receiv’d that fatal Overthrow by the Hills  
“of *Flowden* and Banks of *Till*; The refusing of an Interview might divide the King and his  
“Uncle, upon which might follow some unnatural War.

Upon the other Part the Church-men set all their Power to hinder this Interview, perswading  
themselves it would give a terrible Blow to their Estates or Religion. “The Principal Cause  
“(say they) why the King of *England* is so passionately earnest to have this Meeting, is to per-  
“swade his Nephew to conform Church-matters in *Scotland* to those already begun in *Eng-*  
“*land*; to abolish the Pope’s Authority, to drive Religious Persons from their Lands, Rents,  
“and Houses, and to invest the Jewels and Ornaments of the Churches. Which Counsel and Ex-  
“ample if *James* should follow, he would hazard or lose the Friendship he had with the Pope,  
“Emperor and French King, his best Confederates, abandoned of which he and his Kingdom  
“would be left a Prey to the Tyranny of his Uncle. If *Henry* kept no Faith to God, Men had  
“no Reason to trust him. That this Interview was to intrap his Person; He being the Man  
“whom the Pope and Emperor had designed to set upon his Throne, and revenge their Quar-  
“rels; That it was grossly to err, to be carried away with a Shadow and Appearance, and  
“leave a Substance, to trust at once his Crown, Person and Liberty to an Enemy. And since  
“Examples move more than Precepts, let him think upon the Hazard of King *James I.*  
“Eighteen Years Prisoner, and after sold to his Subjects; *Malcolm* and *William* Kings of *Scot-*  
“*land*. He should remember (if yet he were therein to be instructed) that Princes serve them-  
“selves with Occasions over their Neighbours; that they have greater Care to satisfy their  
“Ambition, than Fear of Shame for doing of Wrongs with the present Times and Posterity.  
“That their Oaths were no longer kept than they observed their Advantages. That after he  
“falleth into his Hands, he must follow his Manners, and Religion, forsaking and giving over  
“his own natural Disposition, Manners and Freedom, and have no other Affections nor Mo-  
“tions than his. For who cometh under the Roof of a Tyrant turneth Slave, though he was  
“a free Man ere he did enter. That this Meeting with the Body, would endanger the Soul,  
“and infect it with his Errors, corrupting it with false Opinions grounded upon a Liberty to  
“live to Sensuality and *Epicurean* Pleasure. If upon the Slighting of this Interview, King  
“*Henry* should denounce War against King *James*, and invade his Country, they in his just  
“Defence should furnish Money to entertain an Army and overturn his Proceedings. For the  
“present Necessity they offer to pay to him Fifty Thousand Crowns yearly; and in any  
“Hazard of the Estate voluntarily to contribute all their Rents and Revenues, providing it  
“would please his Majesty to suffer Justice to proceed against those who scandalously had se-  
“questred themselves from the Holy Church, and to the Contempt of his Laws publicly  
“made Profession of the Opinions of *Luther*. That the Goods of all who should be convict of  
“Heresy (which they esteemed to no less than an Hundred Thousand Crowns of yearly Rent)  
“should be brought to the Exchequer, and their Lands annexed to the Crown. To this effect  
“they intreat his Majesty, to give them sufficient Judges, truly Catholick and full of Zeal and  
“Severity.

After long Reasoning upon both Sides, it was agreed, that the King should not altogether refuse  
to meet his Uncle, but adhere to the first Offers propounded to his Ambassador concerning this In-  
terview. The Meeting to be at *Newcastle*, One Thousand at the most in Train with either  
King, the Time to be the Feast of *St. Michael* the Arch-Angel.

These Conditions not being embraced by King *Henry*, would, if not abolish totally, at the  
least prolong the Time of this Meeting. The King of *England* thinketh his Nephew too imperi-  
ous, to assume the Injunction of the whole Circumstances of their Meeting, but, rather than his  
Suit should take no Effect, accepteth both of the Place and Number of the Train: And that he  
might have some Point yielded unto him, requireth the Time may be the first of *August*.  
These Conditions being almost agreed upon, Three or Four Hundreth *Riddefdale* and *Tinedale*  
Men, with other Borderers, break in upon *Liddefdale*, and there with large Incursions kill and  
forage. This during the Treaty falling miserably forth, so much irritated King *James*, that,  
accepting the Offers of his Clergy, he gave over inwardly all Intentions of any Interview: By  
prolonging Time labouring to wind himself out of the Maze. Hereupon he sendeth Letters  
full of Excuses for his Stay, representing his many Grievances and Wrongs suffer’d; and the Seeds  
of Discord began now to be sown amongst them. To lighten and recreate his cloudy Thoughts,



the Queen is delivered at *Stirling* of another Son, who with great Solemnity is baptized in the Chapel of the Castle, and named *Arthur*.

The Prelates, after mature Deliberation, present Sir *James Hamilton*, natural Son to the Earl of *Arran*, to be supreme Judge of the Inquisition, against all suspected of Heresy and new Opinions differing from the Faith of the *Roman Church*. The King approving their Judgments, in their Choice, admitteth him. Sir *James* cheerfully accepteth this new Honour: For now his Ambition will find many guilty and miserable Supplicants: Yet was this Charge his Ruin. For whilst he persecuteth all who were informed against to be suspected of the Reform'd Religion, having many in Goals, and Numbers in his Scrolls to bring within the Labyrinth of a Process, the supreme Providence arresteth himself.

*James Hamilton* Sheriff of *Linlithgow*, Brother to Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* Abbot of *Ferne*, (who had suffered for Religion, and was Cousin to Sir *James Hamilton* of *Fennard*, Lord Inquisitor) for embracing his Brother's Opinions, had been pursued so by the Church-men, that he was constrained to forsake his own Country, and some Years wander as a banish'd Man abroad: But, by his Friends at Court, having purchased a Licence or Protection for some Months to see his desolate Family, and put his private Affairs in Order, cometh Home. Where finding the Censorian Power to be in his Cousin's Hands, (For where should he have Sanctuary, if he were challenged by so near a Kinsman for Matters of Religion?) imagining to himself an Over-sight and Preterition, outdareth, by his Sray, his Protection. Sir *James* to curry the Favour of the Church-men, and testify how dearly the Cause of the Catholick Faith touched him, resolveth to begin with his Cousin. For if he were so burnt up with Zeal, that he spared not his own Blood in the Quarrel of the *Roman Faith*, what Heretick could pass unpunish'd? Besides the investing himself in the Sheriff's Office and Lands (which he never minded to restore) he had a Picque against him, for that, whilst he sat Judge in *Linlithgow*, he had pronounced a Sentence by which he was interested in some petty Gain.

The Sheriff falling so far short of his Expectation, that he findeth himself the first Subject of his Cousin's Justice, and highly resenting his Kinsman's Cruelty, whom he knew under Pretext of Piety ready to execute his own Revenge, resolveth to prevent his Mischief. He had been sometime familiar with Sir *James*, had known his Bypaths, his secret Plots and airy Brags had not escaped his Observation. Some alike in Kindred to them both, were Emissaries suborned, to mark not only his Actions, but Words and Behaviour, by which one Way or other he might be intrap'd: He knew Sir *James* stood in some Umbrage with the King, and that some Suspitions by no Innocence could be taken away. When at last he had found his Hot-spur Cousin (who threatened him with Death and Fire) within the Circle of his Conjurations, he directeth his Son to the King, who at that Time was ready to pass the *Forth* in his Barge. This bashful Messenger giveth Advertisement from his Father, that the King should make his Person sure from his Foes at Home; for Sir *James Hamilton* had secret Intelligence and Plots with the Earl of *Angus* and the *Dowglasses*, and that he attended only the Occasion when he might surprize him, either alone, or with a mean Retinue, and then, or openly he would invade him, or, breaking up his Chamber-doors, Assassinate him. The King giving attentive Ear to a Business which concerned him no less than the Safety of his Person, the Accusation being given by a Cousin of the Person suspected, against a Family, which a little Disorder in the State might turn Successors to the Crown, directeth the young Man to *Edinburgh*, and beyond his private Instructions, giveth him a Ring (well known by the chief Officers to be a Token of Power and Secrecy) to assemble so many of the Council as were resident. Sir *Thomas Erskine* Secretary, Sir *James Learmont* Master of the Household, *William Kirkcaldie* Treasurer, and others, meet, consult upon the Treason, labour how to prevent it, come to Sir *James's* Lodging, make sure his Person in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and at that same Time proceed, according to the King's Direction to instruct his Process. Sir *James* passionately resenting his Imprisonment, by his Friends imploreth the Aid of the Church-men upon his Innocence. They apprehending his Accusation to be a Stratagem of State forg'd by these of the Reform'd Religion, for the stopping any further Progress of the Inquisition, already so furiously begun, interpose their Credit with the King for his Liberty to the discharging of his Commission against Hereticks. "If the King should hearken to every Informer against a Man in State and Office, he should never have an End; for thus no Man is so innocent, who may not be detracted and calumniated. Sir *James* was known to be a Man rash and insolent in Words, his Brains having been a little giddy (like one looking from a great Height) by his Advancement to Honours and Place in Court; but sincere in the Service of his Prince, and Loyal. If he was arrogant in boldness of Terms, that was to acquire some more Credit with the Commons, that he might do better Service to his Prince.

They who committed Sir *James Hamilton*, knowing the King facile and easy to be wrought upon by the Clergy, some of them too, professing or giving way to the Reform'd Religion, resolve (if he should escape free of this Accusation) that an imminent Ruine hung over their Persons and Estates. Necessity and Fear combining the distracted Powers of their Minds, they come prostrate



strate before the King, beseech him, " Not so much to look to the Quality and Circumstances  
" of the Crime, as to the evil Inclination of the Man, who, Powerful, Factious, and natural-  
" ly Vindictive, would never forgive nor forget the Danger he was driven unto; That his Ma-  
" jesty would consider his past Life, terrible and cruel against all whom he could reach. That  
" to give him Liberty, and relieve him of his Imprisonment, before the Crimes of which he  
" was accus'd were clearly proved, or not, would be their, and the Accusers Overthrow;  
" whom they esteemed loyal Subjects, and except upon evident Probabilities, had never given  
" Informations against him. That he was a Man perfectly hated of the People, and a more  
" acceptable Sacrifice could not be offer'd unto their Fury, if he prov'd guilty. At their Suppli-  
cations the King gave the Judges full Power to proceed against him, and administer Justice ac-  
cording to their Consciences and the Laws of the Kingdom. The *Pannal* being found guilty of  
such Points of the Inditement as was laid against him, was condemned to die, and thereafter  
accordingly beheaded, his Quarters being set aloft on the Town Gates, and his Lands annex'd  
to the Crown.

The Crimes of which he was found guilty (as from those who lived near that Time they  
have by Tradition been received) were; He had Intelligence with the Earl of *Angus* and the  
*Dowglasses*, whom he laboured to have restored, though with the King's Death: He had a Plot  
to have broken up the King's Chamber-doors, and killed him, devolving the Title of the  
Crown, or at least the Government of the Kingdom to his Kindred. Being directed to have  
repaired a Castle in *Bute*, and to this Effect receiving Three Thousand Crowns in *April*, he went  
not thither, attending some Change in the State, which was to be accomplished by Treason  
against the King's Person. He kept still with him Men of desperate Minds and Fortunes, who  
at his Direction durst enterprize any Mischief.

Where he had repaired some of the King's Houses, he had placed a Statue resembling himself,  
or which to some he had named his Statue (What Mole-hills are turned into Mountains when a  
Prince will pry into the Actions of a disgraced Subject?) above the King's Arms. He had de-  
tracted from his Master, naming him the King of Clowns and Priests, and Scourge of the an-  
cient Nobility; He had laboured to hinder the King's Marriage at his being in *France*.

To these Points the People (who rejoiced in his Ruin) added, he had slain cruelly the Earl  
of *Lennox* at the Battel of *Linlithgow*, after he was Prisoner to *Pardow*; and he had Way-laid  
*Gilbert* Earl of *Cassils*, who was killed by his Direction and Counsel.

This Back-blow of Fortune proveth, that it is dangerous once highly to offend a Prince, and  
after remain in his Service; for Princes put old Offences up as neglected, and when the Occasion  
serveth them, surprize long after the Delinquents for some Faults of which they are scarce guilty.

Sundry of the Nobility, appall'd at this sudden Fall of Sir *James Hamilton* (for tho' they lov-  
ed not the Man, they hated the Example of such strict Justice) left the Court, retiring to their  
own Dwelling-houses; which made the King suspicious of them, and believe they favoured the  
Reformed Religion, and preferred the Friendship of King *Henry* his Uncle to his. Neither was  
he herein far mistaken: For some feared not to send him Word, that they had learned, that the  
Church-men had set him on Work to extirpate his ancient Nobility, as if it were an easy Mat-  
ter to create as many new out of the Gentry, in whom (being his own Creatures) he might  
have greater Confidence than any made by his Predecessors.

After this he turned so retired, sullen and melancholy, that every Thing displeased him,  
and he became even insupportable to himself, not suffering his Domestick Servants to use their  
ordinary Desport and Recreations near him. And as all Day he projected and figured to him-  
self new Cares to perplex himself, some of which might fall forth, others could never come to  
pass; So in the Night-time the Objects of his daily Projects working upon his Fancy, limned  
their dark Shadows of Displeasures, which gave him terrible Affrightments in his Sleep. A-  
mongst many of which, Two are recorded as notable; one in the History of the Church, the  
other common; both seem to have been forged by the Men of those Times, who thought Fi-  
ctions as powerful to breed an Opinion in discontented Minds, as Verities, and they may chal-  
lenge a Place in the Poetical Part of History. As he lay in the Palace of *Linlithgow* about the  
Midst of the Night, he leaped out of his Bed, calleth for Lights, commandeth his Servants to  
search *Thomas Scot*, his Justice Clerk, who (he said) stood by his Bed-side accompanied with hi-  
deous Wights, cursing the Time that ever he had served him; for by too great Obedience to  
him, he was, by the Justice of God, condemned to Everlasting Torments.

Whilst they about him labour to cure his wounded Imagination, News came that *Thomas*  
*Scot* about that same Hour of the Night was departed to the other World at *Edinburgh*, and with  
no better Devotion than he was represented to the King.

After Sir *James Hamilton* had ended his Part of this Tragi-comedy of Life, he seemed to the  
King to have returned on the Stage, and in a gasty Manner, with a naked Sword in his Hands,  
he thought he parted both his Arms from him, advertising him he would come again shortly,  
and be more fully revenged, till which Occasion he should suffer these Wounds. The next Day  
after this Vision (which is recorded to have been the 7th of *August*) Word came that both his



Sons were deceased, and that almost in one Hour; *James* the Prince (then one Year old) at *St. Andrew's*, *Arthur*, one Month old, at *Stirling*.

The King of *England*, finding himself disappointed by his Nephew of their Meeting, and understanding it to have been occasioned by the Rhetorick and Liberality of the Church-men; Having many of the Nobility of *Scotland* of his Faction (whose Innocence interpreted his Religion to be the Reformed, though indeed it was of his own Stamp, for he abolished the Pope but not Popery) by making Prizes of *Scottish* Ships upon the Seas with his Fleet, and Incursions of his garrison'd Souldiers upon Land, beginneth the Prologue of an unnecessary War.

King *James*, to stop the *English* Incursions, placeth *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntly* with his full Power and Authority at the Borders, and directeth *James Learmont* of *Darcy* towards his Uncle, to give sufficient Reasons of his not meeting him at *Newcastle*; withal to seek Restitution of his Ships, since taken before any lawful War was proclaimed, and to expostulate the Hostility of the Borderers.

King *Henry* not only refuseth to render the Ships, or give a Reason for the breaking forth of the Garrisons on the Borders, but delaying the Answer of the *Scottish* Ambassador upon Advantage of Time, sendeth *Sir Robert Bowes*, seconded with the Earl of *Angus* and *Sir George Dowglas*, in hostile Manner to invade *Scotland*. These, to the Number of Three Thousand, burn and spoil small Villages, and ravage the Country near the debatable Bounds. The Earl of *Huntly* omitteth no Occasion to resist them, places Garrisons in *Kelfo* and *Jedburgh*, assembling all the hardy Borderers, and invadeth the *English* and *Scottish* Forces at a Place named *Hall-den-rig*; here it is soundly skirmished, till the Lord *Hume* by the advancing of Four Hundred fresh Launces turned the Fortune of the Day; for the *English* were put to Flight, the Warden *Sir Robert Bowes* Captain of *Norham*, *Sir William Mowbray*, *James Dowglas* of *Parkhead* with a natural Son of the Earl of *Angus*, were taken Prisoners (the Earl by the Advantage of his Horse escaping) with others to the Number of Six Hundred. The Warden stayed in *Scotland* till the King's Death.

This Road happened prosperously to the *Scots*, the 24 of *August* 1541. being a Disfmal *St. Bartholomew* to the *English*.

The War continuing till Midsummer, King *Henry* sent the Earl of *Norfolk*, whom he named the Rod of the *Scots*, with great Power towards *Scotland*; with him the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hereford*, *Angus*, *Rutland*, and the Lords of the North Parts of *England*, with an Army of Fourty Thousand Men, as they were esteemed. With them he directeth *James Learmont* of *Darcy*, the *Scottish* Ambassador, to keep an equal March till they came to *Berwick*, and there to stay, that he should not give Advertisement to his Master of any of his Proceedings; the Earl of *Huntley* upon Advantages of Places resisting the adventuring Routs who essayed to Cross the *Tweed*. But King *James* hearing the old Duke of *Norfolk* was their Leader, raiseth from all the Parts of his Kingdom Companies, and, assembling them upon *Sawtry-edge*, mustered Thirty Thousand Men. They encamped on *Fallow-Moor*, the King having Advertisement that the Duke would march towards *Edinburgh*. Ten Thousand strong, with the Lords *Hume*, *Seaton*, and *Erskin*, to make up the Earl of *Huntley's* Forces, are sent towards the Borders: The King himself expecting the Artillery and other Furniture of War, stayeth with the Body of the Army in the Camp. During this Time it is reported the Lords plott a Reformation of the Court, according to the Example practised at *Lawder-Bridge*: Especially against such who were named Pensioners of the Priests; but because they could not agree among themselves about those who should stretch the Ropes, every one striving to save his Kinsman, or Friend, they escaped all the Danger. This Attempt being revealed to the King, he dismiss some of his Favourites in great Fear to *Edinburgh*. So malicious is Faction armed with Power.

*Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, by such in the *Scottish* Camp who favoured King *Henry*, having understood the Preparation and Mind of King *James* to meet him in an open Field, well knowing that Fortune had that much of a Woman to favour young Men more than old, and that honourable Retreats are no Ways inferiour to brave Charges, retireth off the *Scottish* Ground, and keeps his Forces on their own Marches. For the Valour and Resolution of this young Prince might (perhaps) spoil and divest him of his former purchased Lawrels and Palms, to the Applause of King *Henry*, who some thought (being weary of his Service) to this Effect sent him to *Scotland*. A great Number of the *Lancastrians* and *Northumbrians*, who, upon Hopes of Spoil, had followed him, pretending want of Victuals, and the rigorous Season of the Year, with Arms and Baggage leave this Army. Having done little Harm to the *Scots*, and suffered much Hunger and Cold at *Berwick*, he prepareth a Retreat towards *London*.

When King *James* understood the Duke had repassed the *Tweed*, he encouraged his Army to follow him. The Common Souldier was indifferent; the Noblemen refuse to Fight except upon *Scottish* Ground. The King urgeth them "with the Commodity and Advantage of a Revenge of the old Wrong of the Duke, commanding an Army neither of the Gentry, nor many Nobles of *England*, but of Hirelings and pressed Artizans, whose Number would

" prove



“ prove hurtful to themselves, and turn them into a disordered Confusion. They had many  
 “ Days suffered Famine, and all Necessities of War; their Vigour and Courage was spent;  
 “ that the *English* fought far off, and they at Home. There wanted not Matter to answer,  
 but a Man to deliver the King an Answer; generally they refuse to Fight. “ To defend the  
 “ Person of their Prince, the State and Country, they would hazard their Lives, and if they had  
 “ any thing more dear. If the Enemy would stay on *Scottish* Ground, they would do their ut-  
 “ termost to make him Retire, or by main Force expel him: But to invade *England* and tempt  
 “ an Army, who not only was retired, but returned to their own Bounds, they neither had so  
 “ just a Quarrel as they wisht, nor were they sufficient at that Time to pursue them. Their  
 “ Provisions for War were spent, the Winter approached, and Victuals were consumed: That  
 “ Despair often turned it self into true Fortitude, and Men in good Order retiring would not  
 “ be too near followed, that even flying Enemies should have Bridges of Gold. Now if they  
 “ were to charge the Enemy they would not have the King's Presence, a Man young, rash, and  
 “ valorous, upon whose Life, not only the Glory of the Battel, but the Life of the Common-  
 “ wealth depended, his Two Sons being lately departed. For if the Fortune of War brought  
 “ a Period to his Life, the Crown would remain at the Mercy of the Victor; that the King's  
 “ Glory was not little, that he had in so short a Time with so small Forces, and these sudden-  
 “ ly gathered, stopt the Progress of so mighty an Army, which was so long in gathering, and  
 “ boasted of such great Matters, yet which durst not advance One Mile in *Scottish* Ground.  
 “ Whether the *English* fly or retire, they had suffered as much Wrong as they had done, and  
 “ now to fight them (and that perhaps) with Disadvantage, was to put in Hazard what was al-  
 “ ready acquired.

The Duke of *Norfolk* returning to *London*, the King with his Army comes to *Elinburgh*, which immediately he disbanded; but he forgot not the Secret Plot against his Favorites, nor the open Refusal of his Nobles to fight on *English* Ground: As if the Earth were not all one Piece and Matter, and Men the destin'd Inhabitants of it every where; the Cardinal *David Beaton*, *Oliver Sinclair*, *Craigy-Ross*, and others add Fuel to these Flames, *Fala-Moor* Plot mightily instigating them.

The King avouched publicly, That the Nobility neither loved his Honour, nor desired his Continuance among them.

To cool these smoking Humours, and breed in the King fairer Hopes of his Nobles, the Lord *Maxwel* offereth, giving him Ten Thousand Men to command (if the State thought it expedient) to invade *England* at *Sulway*, affirming the State and Fortune of those who assail, to be better than theirs who are still put to their Defence. The *English* Forces being divided, he doubted not to stay longer on *English* Ground, than the Duke had done on the *Scottish*, and to effectuate something to the King's Content. The King thanking him for his Offer, appointeth a Rendezvous to be at the West Marches. No Proclamations are divulged for the Levies of Men, but close Letters sent.

The Cardinal and the Earl of *Arran* (the one a Church-man of a Mind above many Nobles, the other a Nobleman of an Humility under any Church-man) to give a false Perspective to those Proceedings, by Sound of Trumpet, and bearing of Drums raise Men openly, and march towards *Haddingtoun*, and the East Borders; Whilst the Earls of *Cassils*, *Glencairn*, Lords *Fleming*, *Somervail*, *Erskine*, Barons *Ayton*, *Langton*, *Ormeiston*, *Waughton*, and many others, accompanied with the King's domestick Servants ride to the West Borders.

The Night before the Road, the King himself came to *Loch-Maban*, attending the Event of the Incurfion. Companies coming from all Quarters of the Countries about, none knowing of another, with the Power of the *Scottish* Borderers, pass the Water of *Esk*, burn certain Hamlets of the *Grahams* on the very Limits.

Sir *Thomas Wharton*, Warden of these Marches, not a little troubled at such a frequent Assembly of the *Scottish* Riders, raising the Power of the Country, placeth them by a little Hill, where he might take a View of their Forces, in good Order; with him were Bastard *Dacres*, and Jack *Musgrave*, Two valiant Captains.

The *Scottish* Lords beholding the *English*, range themselves in a Battalion, desire to know the King's Lieutenant General, for now it was Time to marshal their Companies, and every Man to take him to his Charge. Presently *Oliver Sinclair*, upon crossed Pikes, is mounted, the King's Banner displayed, and the Commission read, in which he is designed Lieutenant, and all are commanded, in the King's Name, to obey and follow him.

It hath been reported by those who were acquainted with *Oliver*, that the Commission was not read, but that at his very Sight, such a Tumult, confused Clamour, and Enter-shouldering of Male-content, arose, their Ranks were broken, and the military Order turned into a Confusion, none so repining as the Lord *Maxwel* and the Borderers; Who if he had had Patience to have heard the Commission (as *Oliver* protested,) was Lieutenant, and not he, whose Charge was only to present it.



The *English*, who now were ready for the Fight, observing this Disorder, take the Advantage upon the Occasion, and break forwards with a military Shout, whilst the others are in Doubt whether to fly or stand, and the Guidiats and Scullions are pell mell thronging with the Foot-souldiers, and they with the Horsemen. Here is a general Surprise, most part willingly rendring themselves to the *English* without any Shew of Defence, or the Slaughter of any Person of any Side. This Overthrow proveth, that neither Arms, nor the Multitude and Numbers of Souldiers without their Love and Hearts availeth any Thing in a Field, yea rather they are hurtful the more in Number they be, if their Affection be alienated from their Commanders.

It is recorded, that at this Road, which was named *Sulway-Moss*, every *English* Man had Three or Four *Scots* for Prisoners; and when they wanted Men to take them, the Women of the neighbouring Hamlets and Boys had Prisoners; the Earls of *Cassils* and *Glencairn*, the Lords *Maxwel*, *Fleming*, *Somervail*, *Oliphant*, *Gray*, *Robert Erskine* Son to the Lord *Erskine*, *Oliver Sinclair*; The Lairds of *Craigy*, *Ayton*, *Langton*, *Ormeiston*, *Waughton*, many of the King's Domestick Servants were taken Prisoners, brought to *London*, and remained there till after the King's Death.

The Certainty of this voluntary Defeat coming to the King at *Loch-Maban* (or *Carlaveroch*, as others say) so astonish'd all the Powers of his Mind, that he had neither Counsel nor Resolution what to follow, neither remembering his own Valour, nor the Number of his Subjects yet flourishing; he remained as one distracted, and abandoned of all Hopes. The Plot of the Nobles at *Fala-Moor* against his Servants, the refusing to give Battel on *English* Ground, made him apprehend that the whole Body of his Nobility had conspired his Overthrow.

The Cardinal and Earl of *Arran* coming to *Edinburgh*, he also returned; all so cast down that they were ashamed to come within Sight of each other some Days.

After which, in a retired Manner, he passed to *Fife*, and from *Hall-yards* to *Falkland*, where he gave himself over to Sorrow. No Man had Access unto him, no, not his own Domesticks. Now are his Thoughts busied with Revenge, now with Rage against his scornful Nobility: Long Watchings, continual Cares and Passions, Abstinence from Food and Recreation, had so extenuated his Body, that pierced with Grief, Anguish, Impatience and Despair, he remained fixt to his Bed.

In these Trances, Letters come from *Linlithgow* to him, That the Queen was delivered of a Daughter the Eighth of *December*. When he heard it was a Daughter was born, he is said to have turned his Face from them that read the Letters, and sighing a Farewel to the World, *It will end as it began*; (says he) *the Crown came by a Woman, and it will with one go: Many Miseries approach this poor Kingdom; King Henry will either make it his by Arms or Marriage.*

The Cardinal put in his Hands some blank Papers, of which they composed a Latter-Will, which whether he subscribed or not, is uncertain. After which he said not many Words which could be understood, but mused on the Discomfiture of his Servants at the *Sulway-Moss*. In which Fits he left this World the Thirteenth of *December* 1542, the Three and Thirtieth Year of his Age, and Two and Thirty of his Reign.

Some record, he was troubled by an unkindly Medicine, and that the Cardinal was conscious to it, but upon far Conjectures: For the Event proved that his Death was not only the Ruine of the Cardinal, but of the whole Church-men of the Kingdom, and Frame of the *Roman Religion*. His Body was conveyed from *Falkland* to *Edinburgh*; the Cardinal, Earls of *Arran*, *Argile*, *Roths*, and *Marshall*, accompanying it; and in *January* buried in the Abby Church of *Holyrood-house*, near the Body of *Magdalen* his first Queen. He left behind him many natural Children; of his Marriages only One Daughter, Five Days old at his Death, the Heir of his Kingdom and Misfortunes.

This King was of a well made Body and excellent Mind, if it had been carefully polisht; he was of a middle Stature; Nature had given him Strength and Ability equal to any; but by Exercise he had so confirmed it, that he was able to endure any Travel, and practise all Feats of Arms, as his pursuing Malefactors proved; for he was ordinarily thought the First of his Troops who pursued them, and the last that left the Chase, being daring and forward. In his private Affairs he was attentive and liberal, yet spared his Treasure that he should not want, and when Occasion required, caring for no Charges. Never Man did entertain Sovereignty more familiarly, being of as easy Access to the meaner Sort as to the great. He was studious of all good Arts, naturally given to Poesy, as many of his Verses yet extant testify. He was of as great Sobriety as of little Continency: He was a great Favourer of Learned Men. The Poor Man loved him, the Great feared him: He made the Rush-Bushes keep the Herds of Cattel: He was thankful towards his Friends, and dangerous towards his Enemies. He infinitely obliged his People by establishing a Justice-Court among them, and bringing all Sorts of Manufactures from neighbour Nations Home. By the *Germans* he found the Gold Mines of *Crawford-Moor*, being unknown to this Part of the World before him, out of which he extracted Treasure. He left his Arsenals furnish'd with all Sorts of Arms and Furniture for War. Now, as in

Pictures



Pictures not only the Light but the Shadow is observable, let us look upon him in all his Umbrages. This Prince in his long Pursuit of the *Dowglasses* seems to have had a strange Humour, that he could never Forgive: And most of his Miseries may be traced to this Source: These he would have extirpate, and the King of *England* could not forsake a Man who was his Brother-in-law, and had been ever obsequious to him, seeking only that he might be restored to his own, out of which he was cast, not by any Treason or aspiring to the Crown, but of an Ambition he had to be near the King, and equal to any Subject, his own Worth, Kindred and Followers animating him thereunto, having married the King's Mother, and one of the greatest Kings Sister of those Times.

The burning alive of the Lady *Glamis*, beheading of the Master of *Forbes*, and after him Sir *James Hamilton*, turned many of the Hearts of his Nobles from him, and made the Commons detract him: For though they delight sometimes to have great Men made equal to them, when they find not evident Proofs and sound Grounds of their Sufferings and Executions, they abhor the Actors. Princes should remember, that as the People are their Subjects, so are they the Subjects of Time and Providence.

This Humour of Revenge made many believe, if he had not been prevented by Death, many Scaffolds had been embued for *Fala-Moor* Plot and *Sulway-Moss*. The Lord *Maxwel*, who had studied the Character of the King, at that Road vowed (when he might have escaped among his known Boderers) he would rather be the KING of *England's* Prisoner, and see him at *London*, than return home, and be shamefully hanged at the Cross of *Edinburgh*.

He studied very much the Overthrow of his ancient Nobility, not considering that the Titles of Crowns in Hereditary Kingdoms belong only to Kings, for that they are the most ancient Noblemen, and also First of the Primitive Blood.

In his last Years he was altogether governed by *Romish* Prelates, dangerous Pilots in the Ocean of a troubled State; that Body, in which one Humour signorizeth, cannot last long, and a Prince perisheth when he is governed by only one Sort of Men. Neither was he ruled so much by them out of great Zeal to Religion (being a Prince altogether given to his own Pleasures) as that he found them counterpoise the Nobility, whilst he swayed the Ballance.

His Death proveth his Mind to have been raised to the Highest Strain, and above Mediocrity; for he could die, but could not digest a Disaster. He seemeth to have had too much Confidence in himself, and that he forgot the Conditions of Mortality, whilst he suffered himself to be carried away by the Current of Grief, and swallowed up in the Gulf of Despair.

All his Faults are but as some few Warts in a most pleasing and beautiful Face. He was very much beholding to the excellent Poets of his Time, whose Commendation shall serve him for an Epitaph. *Ariosto*, who knew him only by Fame, in the Person of *Zerbino*, whom he nameth Prince of *Scotland*, glaunceth at his Worth.

*Zerbin di Bellezza e di Valore  
Sopra tutti i Signori eminente,  
Di virtu essempio e di Bellezza raro.*

But *Ronsard*, who with his Queen came to *Scotland*, and was his Domestick Servant, describeth him more to the Life.

*Ce Roy d'Escoffe estoit en la fleur de ses ans :  
Ses Cheveux non tondus comme fin or luisans  
Cordonnez et crespex flotans dessus sa face,  
Et sur son col de lait luy donnoit bonne grace.  
Son Port estoit royal, son regard vigoureux.  
De vertus, et d'honneur, & de guerre amoureux.  
La douceur, et la force, illustroient son visage,  
Si que Venus et Mars en avoient fait partage.*

So happy is a Prince when he cherisheth and is entertain'd by the rare Spirits of his Time, that even when his Treasures, Pomp, State, Followers, Diadems, and all external Glory leave him, the sweet Incense of his Fame, in the Temple of Honour, perfumeth his Altars. A Prince's Name is surer preserved, and more deeply ingraven in Paper, than in all the rusting Medals, blasted Arches, entombed Tombs (which may serve to any as well as to him) raised with such



Loss of Time, vain Labours of Artizans, and vast Expence, to be the Sport of the Winds, Rains, Tempests, Thunder, Earthquakes, or, if they shun all these, of Superstition, Faction and civil Broils.

After this Prince had some Years rested in a Tomb, not only it, but the most Part of the Church was made equal to the Ground, by the Armies of his Uncle King *Henry VIII.* whose Malice left him not even when he was dead, proving as horrible an Uncle, as *Nero* was a Son. A while after he was transported to another Vault, by the Piety of his matchless Grand-child *James King of Great Britain*; where he was embalmed again, enshrined, and his Coffin adorned with the Arms of the Kingdom, Cognizances and a Crown. With which Honours I leave him, till some famous Pen, encouraged by the Favours of his Royal Successors, raise his Fame from the Dust of obscure Papers to Eternity.

THE END.

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